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A BRIEF SURVEY
OF
THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

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4 JAN 1926
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S. A. RAMAKRISHNA IYER

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WITH A FOREWORD BY

R. M. STATHAM, I. E. S.

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TO

My Grandfather

AS A HUMBLE TOKEN

OF AFFECTION, RESPECT AND GRATITUDE,

THIS BOOK

IS

DEDICATED

FOREWORD.

Mr. S. A. Ramakrishnan being an old student of mine it is with great pleasure that I write this short foreword to his first book. I may not agree with all that has been said in this work on "The Brief Survey of the British Empire" but I feel sure that the book will meet a popular need and I know that it represents much painstaking, labour and thought. It is always difficult to cover satisfactorily an extensive subject within the confined space of a text book and I think that the author has made a very laudable effort and deserves encouragement for his enterprise. The importance of the influence of Geography on History is often forgotten in schools and this little book should help to enlighten many students. Mr. Ramakrishnan writes instructively and I hope that his first work will meet with success.

R. M. Statham, I. E. S.

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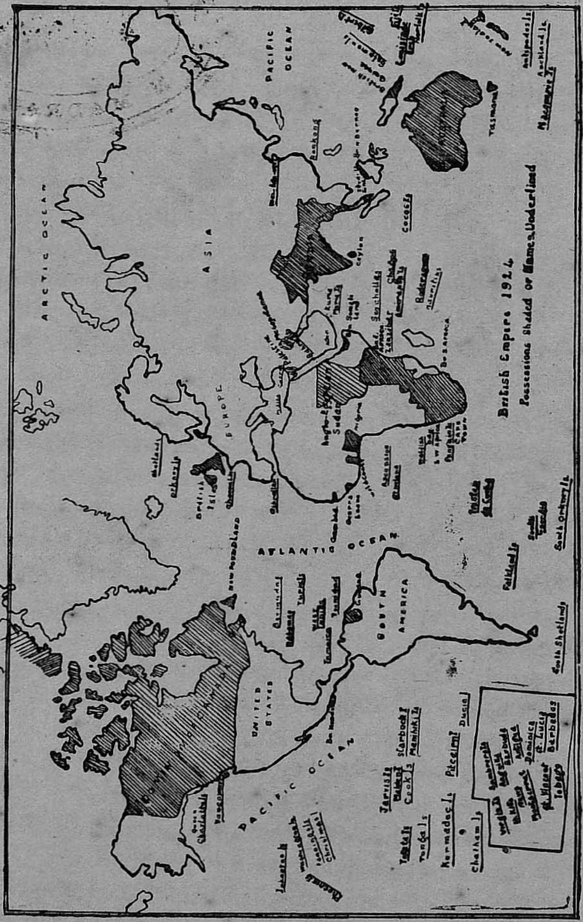
BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1924.



FRONTISPIECE.

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PART I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

"'*Empire*' is a term used to denote either the territories governed by a person bearing the title of Emperor, or more generally any extensive dominion."—*(Encyclopædia Britannica.)*

History knows no empire so vast and varied as the British Empire. The British Empire occupies one quarter of the land surface and comprises a fifth of its inhabitants. The area is distributed so equally between the northern and southern hemispheres that, while one half of the Empire is warmed by the summer sun, the other half enjoys winter cold. But the division between the eastern and western hemispheres is not quite so impartial. If, however, the eastern portions of Australia which border on the western hemisphere be included in it, the result would reveal an equal distribution of day and night throughout the Empire. What is more wonderful is that, though its major portion lies within the temperate zones, all types of climate are represented in it. Nor is the soil less varied. What country in the world produces more coal than the United Kingdom? The prairies of Central Canada contain some of the best wheat fields; the interior of Australia affords the best

pasture ground; while South Africa possesses rich gold and diamond beds. "These alternations of time and of seasons," remarks Lady Lugard in the Historians' History of the World, "combined with the variety of soils and climates are calculated to have an increasingly important effect upon the material and the industrial as well as upon the social and political developments of the Empire."

Classification:—The United Kingdom is the heart and brain of the Empire. Historically, the Colonies and Dependencies fall into three classes. Of those acquired by occupation and settlement, Australia, Newfoundland and the greater part of Canada are illustrations. Quebec, India, Ceylon, Jamaica, Gibraltar, and the Cape of Good Hope are examples of annexations by conquest; while Cyprus, the Straits Settlements and Honduras afford instances of acquisition by treaty.

Geographically, however, the Empire can be classified into five groups:—

1. European, 2. American, 3. Australian, 4. African, 5. Asiatic.

For convenience of administration, it has been divided into three sections:—1. Great Britain including the dependencies of the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man; 2. The Indian Empire administered by the Secretary of State for India; and 3. The Colonies and Dependencies under the control of the Colonial Office.

Politically, again, the Colonies fall into four main types. Of the first class are the Self-Governing Colonies

of Canada, Newfoundland, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand and the Union of South Africa. The Crown Colonies come next, of which Ceylon, Jamaica and the Straits Settlements are examples. Thirdly, there are various Protectorates and Spheres of Influence such as Egypt, and British East Africa. Last comes India, which is a special type of Dependency.

Imperial Unity :—What is the force that holds together these extensive possessions, scattered over the entire globe, separated by wide expanse of water, and inhabited by diverse races? The Crown is the symbol of Imperial Unity. In the words of Marriott, "the loyalty of the over-sea Dominions is evoked not by an institution but by a person, not by a Parliament, imperial only in name, but by an Emperor-King. In a word, the Crown has become in an especial sense, the guardian and embodiment of a new idea—the sentiment of Imperial Unity."

The sea is another link of the Empire. The empires of the past, with few exceptions, were land empires. The British Empire, on the other hand, is a naval empire. It is the product of three centuries of strenuous fighting and of naval supremacy. If Great Britain had not been a naval power, she would never have become an Imperial State. So long as she wields the sceptre of the seas, so long then, she will continue to afford protection to the distant states of the Empire, a result of centuries of incessant warfare on land but especially at sea.

Features of English Expansion :— (a) The growth of the Empire has been rather amazing. It will appear the more so, if it be realised that England was late and was rather slow to take up the work of empire-building. On the other hand, Spain and Portugal were the first to enter the field of colonial expansion. They had founded empires before John Bull shook off his sluggishness. (b) While in Spain and Portugal the building of empire was considered the primary duty of their governments, England left the matter entirely in the hands of private persons. The English attempts were spasmodic and unsystematic, but they were the attempts of a people who had received training in the school of self-help. (c) Woodward makes mention of the motives such as trade, religion, settlement and defence as other features of English expansion.

Motives:— **1. National policy**:—Of the several grounds for colonisation which appealed to the Elizabethans, national policy i. e. the desire to promote national welfare was first and foremost. Spain and Portugal were growing rich in wealth and importance as a result of their vast over-sea possessions. Englishmen began to feel that England's geographical situation and the right of discovery (Newfoundland) conferred upon them a title to the colonisation of the New World. Such settlements were calculated to strengthen England by increasing her ships and mariners. Besides, they would make their country independent of the Continent in the matter of timber, cordage and ship-building

materials. Above all, the plantation of America would afford an opportunity for training in sea-manship; and the conviction naturally grew in the English nation that the strength, the greatness and the future possibilities of England lay in the seas.

2. **Economic policy:**—Economically, the colonies, besides relieving the mother country of her redundant population and providing employment for the sons of the gentry, would open a new career to an increasing class of law-breakers, who were considered excellent material for pioneering work. A century of peace and settled government under the Tudors made the country prosperous. Trade revived, as a result of which England became rich. With prosperity and wealth the population multiplied. The pauper and the unruly elements in the population increased. This, the country recognised when it passed the Poor Law Act of 1601. Consequently, colonisation was regarded as a rough and ready method of getting rid of paupers and vagrants who were on the increase.

3. **Commercial policy:**—Commercially, the colonies were looked upon as a source of wealth to the mother country. As soon as a colony was set up, a demand for the goods of the mother country was naturally to be expected. The development of trade and commerce must be the outcome of increased supply, consequent upon a fresh demand. The colonies were valuable also in another way. They furnished the necessaries of the mother country, for which she was dependent on foreigners. Moreover, the shortest road to fortune was the occupation

of the New World, where gold and silver could be had in plenty.

4. **Religion:**—Lastly the religious motive was not less strong. The gospel of the Lord might be carried to foreign lands and the soul of the native might be saved from perjury. If England neglected the infidels, they might fall into the hands of Catholic Spain. The English Protestants felt it a religious duty imposed upon them by God to rescue the native from the errors and evils of Catholicism. Further the colonies would afford a safe retreat where the settlers might follow their avocations unhampered, according to their own bent, and worship God, according to their conscience, freed from the persecutions of the Old World.

BOOK I.

The Growth of the United Kingdom.

CHAPTER I.

Influence of Geography on British History.

"The following circumstances have contributed to the exceptional extension and prosperity of our foreign possessions:—(1) Our insular position which has fostered the maritime spirit and made the command of the sea almost a condition of our existence; (2) The freedom of our institutions, encouraging enterprise and self-reliance among our own people and offering the advantages of just rule to foreigners; (3) The energy and industry which have enabled British colonists to develop resources, and the firmness and tact which they show in dealing with the natives among whom they settle." *W. G. Baker.*

Position:—"The first great movement from Europe," says Pollard, "towards the newly discovered lands, or towards old lands by newly discovered routes, was followed by the epoch of the great European wars, which had their origin in the territorial ambitions of the rulers of the Continent. England did her share of the land fighting, but found her true sphere at sea." It is her insularity that freed England from the obligation of concentrating all her energy in the Continental wars. She reaped the full benefit

of her insular position. The sea is her strong wall. Consequently, she is free from foreign invasion. Separated from the Continent by only twenty one miles of water, her commanding situation in the North Sea, "at the entrance of a chain of waters going inland into the heart of the Continent," is one of strategic and commercial importance. Her central position in the world and internal security are advantages to which she owes her greatness. But the case of France and Spain was different. While they were occupied in carving out lands in the New World they had to keep a close watch over their jealous neighbours. While the continual frontier wars between kings themselves and the feudal barons distracted the attention of the Continental powers, England, safe at home, could divert all her energies in the direction, first, of promoting political and religious liberty and later, of Empire-building.

Access to the Sea :— Besides offering natural protection, the sea affords an open passage and easy access to all the countries of the world. A country that has little sea-board cannot become great as a maritime nation. "The coastline of the country, where harbour accommodation is fairly good, may be compared to the roads bordering an estate; the greater the amount in proportion to the area, the easier is the access to all parts within it, and the greater is the ease with which trade may be carried to and from other places. Few countries have so much coast in proportion to their size." Good rivers and sea-ports are gateways to the sea. England has

many such ports and rivers. The Thames, the Severn, the Humber and the Mersey are arms of the sea. She has also a wealth of excellent harbours in London, Liverpool, Bristol, Plymouth and Southampton. Moreover, communication is easier by sea than by land; and when the New World was discovered England found that the road to it lay at her very doors.

Channel fishing:—The shallow seas round the British Isles are full of valuable fish. Englishmen therefore took early to fishing. "This calling has produced a race of men—strong, used to hardship, patient and hard-working, brave, active and ready to meet danger. The fisheries of the west of England were the nursery or training place of the sailors who enabled Drake to sail round the world, and, as he said, "singe the king of Spain's beard," on more than one memorable occasion."

Coal and Iron:—England is rich in mineral wealth. The discovery of rich deposits of coal and iron side by side has led to the expansion of English trade and has made England a manufacturing nation. "She has many advantages as a manufacturing and trading country. The mines yield coal, iron and the useful minerals in abundance; the people are industrious and skilful in the making and use of machinery; the goods made are such as are in general demand; the rivers, ports, railways &c., afford ready means of transit; and the geographical position of the country places it within easy reach of the world's markets."

Climate:—"Climate," says Bonacina, "at once passively permitted and actively compelled Britain to become a great commercial nation." The climate of a country exercises a profound influence on the character and habits of the people. A hot enervating climate is not conducive to full bodily and mental vigour. A very cold climate, on the other hand, makes the people spend most of their hours indoors. England enjoys the advantage of an equable climate—thanks to the warm Gulf Stream. The temperate climate has made her people sturdy, energetic and enterprising and at the same time freed her ports from winter ice, which would otherwise have hindered maritime trade, so vital to a maritime nation.

Size:—Lastly, "even the very smallness of Great Britain," remarks the author of A Survey of the British Empire, "gives it certain advantages, since all the great centres of production and exchange are comparatively close together."

Conclusion:—In a sense, the British Empire is inevitable. It is the product of several causes working together. England's situation and insular position, her maritime, manufacturing and climatic advantages coupled with the qualities of the race,—to wit, independence, daring nature, initiative, self-reliance and wonderful adaptability, together with the love of the sea,—have made her a great colonising nation.

CHAPTER II.

How England Became A Nation.

The English are a mixed race, a result of the fusion of the Celtic, Danish and Norman with the Teutonic blood. All text-books of English history begin with an account of the Roman Conquest of Britain. That conquest, interesting as it is, is important to the student of British Empire history only in so far as it fills a gap in that narrative.

Anglo-Saxon Invasion:—English history proper begins with the invasion of Britain by the Teutonic tribes from Germany. The conquest extended over one hundred and fifty years from 449 A.D., when the Jutes under their leaders Hengist and Horsa landed in Kent. The Angles carved out for themselves kingdoms in the north, while the Saxons settled down in the centre and south. The Britons were driven to the hilly regions on the west, the country now known as Wales. At first there were numerous petty states which were in course of time absorbed by powerful neighbours. The process of unification went on until at the opening of the seventh century there were only seven kingdoms which came to be known as the Heptarchy. At last constant fighting among the kingdoms reduced the number to four namely, Kent, Northumbria, Mercia and Wessex, which established by turns a sort of hegemony or overlordship over the rest.

Conversion to Christianity:—In England religious unity was the forerunner of national or political unity. The conversion of the English to Christianity began with the landing of Augustine and his followers in Kent. Thus Kent became at once the starting point of the Anglo-Saxon as well as the Christian conquest of England. Before long, Northumbria, Essex, Wessex and East Anglia were converted. The new faith had to fight its way to Mercia; and with the conversion of that kingdom the whole island became Christian. At this stage an unforeseen danger threatened to divide the country. For the conversion of the island was accomplished by two sets of missionaries, Roman and British, differing widely as regards certain practices. But the Synod or assembly of the two schools of practice at Whitby, where England elected to follow Rome, averted the catastrophe of a divided nation. "A united Church", says Warner, "gave the example for a united people; union under one archbishop accustomed men to think of union under one king."

Danish Invasion:—The process of consolidation was arrested for a time by the Danish invasion which, in a real sense, only furthered the movement. The Danes were fierce Northmen who came from Scandinavia, Germany and Denmark. Their migration falls into three groups. The first was the stage of plunder (790-857), the second of settlement (859-897), and the third of conquest (980-1016).

When Alfred became king of the West Saxons in 871, the Danes, having swept away all the northern kingdoms, were thundering at the gates of Wessex. Nothing unifies a people so well as the presence of a common enemy. In the hour of need, all eyes turned to Alfred, who thus became the leader of the national host. There were several engagements in which the Danes were invariably successful; but in the end, Alfred defeated the Danes and signed a treaty with the Danish leader Guthrum at Wedmore in 878. That treaty is a landmark in English history and marks the beginning of English unity. The Danish invasion wiped out petty local kingdoms and paved the way for the stable union of all England under one king. Alfred's statesmanship laid the foundations of that single monarchy of England which was soon to become a reality under his son and grandson. But the one permanent result of supreme importance of the Danish invasion was to infuse vigour into the English race. The final stage of conquest was reached under Ethelred the Unready, whose want of counsel led to the accession of Canute to the throne. Though he ruled well he did a dis-service to the country by parcelling it into big earldoms. The earls became so powerful under his worthless sons and their incapable successor Edward the Confessor, that they threatened for a time to dissolve the kingdom into separate states.

The Norman Conquest:—The Norman Conquest, like the Danish invasions, revealed the disruptive forces at work in England. Unity was as far off as ever. But

"the valuable thing," says Maitland, "that the Norman Conquest gives us, is a strong kingship which makes for national unity." The personal rule of the first three Norman kings checked the dis-integrating forces of feudalism. The outcome of the strong rule of the Norman kings was the united English nation. The Conquest crushed local differences of custom and provincial feeling. Not the least valuable of the results was the intermixture of the two races which served to enrich the slow Saxon blood. Above all, the Jury system of Henry II quickened the feeling of national consciousness.

Magna Carta :—"With the usual irony of history," remarks Pollard, "it so happened, that the reign of one of our worst monarchs contributed more towards the nationalisation of England than, perhaps, any other reign in our history." The loss of Normandy under John furthered the cause of national unity. For so far the barons, who had estates both in England and Normandy, had their interests divided between the two. They were now compelled to act like Englishmen. The folly of John still further united the nation against him. For the first time in English history, the barons made common cause with the commons and the clergy to force from the king a charter of liberties. "To combine and to agree upon a programme is infinitely more important than the result of their combination." Magna Carta was the first expression of the united nation.

CHAPTER III.

The Rise of Parliament.

"The interest of Henry III's reign is to be found not so much in the laws that are made but in the struggle for a Parliament." (Maitland.)

Origin:—Parliament has its origin as the guardian of English liberty. The Great Charter required the king to consult a council of the realm in matters of taxation. In the past, the Anglo-Saxon Witan and the Norman Curia Regis had advised the king in grave and important matters. But they represented the aristocracy alone. Even the council of the realm mentioned in the Charter of 1215 was only a feudal assembly. We have now to trace the stages by which this feudal body gradually became transformed into the national assembly.

Montfort's Parliament:—A distinct step in advance towards the evolution of the national assembly was taken in 1254, when the sheriffs were required to send four kinghts from each county to the Great Council at Westminister. A second stage in that evolution was reached, when Henry's misrule caused the baronial revolt under Simon de Montfort. The defeat of the king at Lewes in 1265 left Simon in power, which he sought to strengthen by popular support. Consequently he summoned to his famous Parliament of 1265, not merely knights from each shire, but representatives from cities

and boroughs. This was the beginning of the House of Commons, the third Estate of the realm.

The Model Parliament:—When Simon was overthrown at Evesham in 1265, his great experiment might have fallen with him. The king was not bound by the action of a rebel. But Edward I who succeeded his father in 1272 had the nobility to learn of his foe and complete his design. In the earlier years he made several parliamentary experiments and at last hit upon the famous Parliament of 1295 which became the model for all future Parliaments. To it were summoned the earls and the greater barons, the archbishops and the bishops, the abbots and the lower clergy, two knights from each shire, and two citizens and burgesses from each city and borough. The knights of the shires sat along with the representatives of the cities and boroughs. "It was this union of classes in the House of Commons which gave it its strength."

Conclusion:—In every sense it was a model Parliament. In the first place, it was summoned by the king; secondly, no former Parliament had been so representative. All the three Estates of the realm, the nobility, the clergy and the commons were adequately represented. From an exclusive body Parliament had for the first time become a national assembly.

CHAPTER IV.

The Conquest of Wales.

Idea of Great Britain:—Edward I was a great national king with great political ambition. He aimed at the union of Wales and Scotland under England. His Welsh and Scottish campaigns reveal his idea of Great Britain. He conquered Wales; but with regard to Scotland his policy was ill-timed and failed.

Llewelyn and Edward: Edward owed Llewelyn a grudge. Llewelyn was Prince of Snowdon and vassal of the English king. He had during the civil war between Henry III and his barons supported Simon de Montfort. Edward had to purchase his goodwill by cession of conquered territory in Wales. The Prince did not rest quiet here. He proposed to marry Eleanor, daughter of Simon de Montfort. This proposal coupled with his evasion to perform feudal homage to his English overlord was sufficient cause for a war. Edward led an army into Wales. Llewelyn was blockaded and starved to surrender. He was reduced to the position of a petty chief.

Annexation:—But Edward's policy in Wales stirred up fresh discontent and resulted in another rebellion headed by Llewelyn and his brother David. He led a second expedition. Llewelyn was slain in battle

and David was executed as a traitor. The Northern Principality was annexed. Already the south had become English. The king crowned his son "Prince of Wales," a title borne ever since by the eldest son of the reigning Sovereign. Wales was incorporated into the kingdom of England under Henry VIII and an Act of 1747 laid down that in Acts of Parliament the name England should be taken to include Wales.

CHAPTER V.

The Union With Scotland

Scotland under the Plantagenets:—The conquest of Wales was hardly over, when Edward's attention was called away by the affairs in Scotland, where the disputed succession gave him an opportunity of defining the relation between England and her northern neighbour. The turn of affairs necessitated the invasion of Scotland. Edward's policy roused the national consciousness of the Scots. His death in 1307 left the Scottish wars as a legacy to his son and successor Edward II. Scottish independence was recognised by Edward III in 1328. "Edward I" says Warner, "had wished to unite England and Scotland; all he had done was to divide them more deeply than they had ever been divided before." Ever since Edward's days Scotland was a thorn in England's side. The two countries were constantly fighting on the frontier. During the Hundred Years' War, Scotland clung to her alliance with France and harassed the English northern counties.

Scotland under the Tudors:—To put an end to this border warfare and to draw away the Scots from the French, Henry VII gave his daughter Margaret in marriage to James IV of Scotland. This matrimonial alliance did not, however, bear fruit in the immediate future. James IV and James V were very tenacious

of the French alliance and died bitter enemies of the English. The death of James V however left the field clear for the union of the two countries; but the opportunity was squandered away. Negotiations were opened to bring about a royal marriage between Mary Queen of Scots and Edward VI. The Protector sought to effect his purpose by force of arms. The Scots did not like the English manner of wooing and sent their Queen to France where she was married to the Dauphin. That marriage was the culmination of the Franco-Scottish alliance. It appeared as if the two island neighbours could never become friends.

The Reformation in Scotland:—The fortunate circumstance of the Scottish Reformation saved the situation. The Church of Scotland became Presbyterian. The activities of the reformers were soon checked by the Regency in Scotland and Protestantism was in danger of being swept away. But the prompt action of Elizabeth in sending adequate help to the besieged reformers saved the new religion. The Scottish Reformation stopped the weak point in England's defence. A reformed Scotland gave the enemies of England no opening for dealing a stab in the back. When the re-appearance of Mary Queen of Scots created fresh troubles for Elizabeth, it was the Reformation that came to her rescue. Religion sharply divided the Scots from their Queen. With a hostile nation Mary was not so dangerous a rival of Elizabeth as she would otherwise have become. More than all, the Scottish Reformation paved the way for the union of the crowns under James I.

The Scottish Union:—It was only a personal union; the legislative union followed in 1707. James I's proposals for a closer union fell to the ground through his tactlessness. The religious policy of Charles I alienated the Scots. Under the Commonwealth Scotland was administered as a province of England, but at the Restoration she became once more independent. The Revolution of 1688 was only a link in the chain of events leading to the parliamentary union of the two countries. The Scots who had Jacobite sympathies fought against William III. Peace was soon restored and the condition of the country rapidly improved. The desire on the part of the Scottish merchants to secure the privilege of trading with England and her colonies, the failure of the Darien Scheme, and the Act of Security passed by the Scottish Parliament eventually led to the union in 1707 of England and Scotland under the name of Great Britain. Forty-five members were to represent her in the British House of Commons. She was to send sixteen peers to the House of Lords. Presbyterianism was recognised as the State religion. Free-trade was established between the two nations. The destinies of the two countries were henceforth inextricably interwoven.

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CHAPTER VI.

The Irish Union.

"Ireland provided the least glorious and least successful sphere of English expansion." Pollard.

History of Ireland to the Revolution of 1688:—Henry II led an army into Ireland and received the homage of the Irish chiefs. Nothing of event occurred between his assumption of the title of "Lord of Ireland" and the passing of the Poyning's Act, during the reign of Henry VII, which made the Irish Parliament dependent upon that of England. Henry VIII took up the more dignified title of "King of Ireland." The reign of Elizabeth was full of disturbances caused by a religious revival among the Catholics, which the Papacy and Spain exploited to the greatest extent. The rebellions were quelled and the country was conquered. James I encouraged settlers to migrate and the plantation of Ulster was the result. Wentworth's government in the next reign did much to promote Irish industry and commerce. But during the Civil War the Roman Catholics rose in revolt and a cruel massacre of the Protestants ensued. It required the iron hand of Cromwell to subdue the country. Lands were freely distributed among fresh settlers and the Irish Parliament was merged in the English Parliament. At the Restoration the union was dissolved. The Revolution brought fresh troubles. A rebellion broke

out in Ireland in aid of James II and William crossed the St. George's Channel and won the battle of the Boyne. The victory re-established English authority; and penal laws designed to crush the Roman Catholics were passed. All the troubles in Ireland arose out of the land question and of a Protestant minority trying to dominate over a Catholic nation. The existence side by side of Protestantism and Catholicism has made the Irish question a knotty problem.

Events leading to the Union:—The next stage in Irish history is marked by the American War of Independence which led to the repeal of the Poyning's Act and the abolition of restrictions on Irish trade and industries. Ireland was thus given legislative independence, as a result of a strong political feeling among the Protestants led by Henry Grattan, a finished orator and parliamentary leader of supreme eminence. The influence of the American War was visible in the repeal of the laws which made it illegal for the Roman Catholics to purchase land. The French Revolution influenced Irish politics even more than the American Revolution. It ushered into existence an extreme Catholic party under the leadership of Wolfe Tone. The formation of the popular organisation called the United Irishmen brought home to Pitt, who was at the helm of affairs in England, the necessity of enfranchising the Roman Catholics. They were given votes but not seats in Parliament. The United Irishmen sought to sever the British connection with the aid of the French. Riots broke out in 1798

and terrible atrocities were committed. But the rebellion was not formidable and it was easily put down.

Pitt realised that the union of Ireland with Great Britain was the only solution of the Irish problem. The Irish question is even to-day a vexed question. Ireland was the "Achille's heel" of England. By promise of Catholic emancipation the Irish opinion against the union was won over, and the Act of Union was passed in 1800. The British and Irish Parliaments were fused into the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Thirty-two peers, of whom four were to be Lords Spiritual, and one hundred elected members were to represent Ireland in the Upper and Lower Houses respectively. She was to enjoy freedom of trade with Great Britain and her contribution to the revenue of the United Kingdom was fixed at two-seventeenths. The Irish Union was never popular, but it completed the expansion of England into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

[Ireland was created a Free State in 1921. Detailed reference will be found elsewhere.]

BOOK II.

The Sixteenth Century: The Conflict with Spain.

CHAPTER I.

The Age of Discovery.

"It is with the discovery of the sea-route to the East Indies and of America that modern colonisation begins."

Leacock.

"It is a curious fact that most of the discoveries made concerning America were made indirectly and unintentionally". Historians' History of the World.

Sea-route to India:—The period from 1450 to 1550 is known as the Age of Discovery, because it was a time when new lands and new routes were discovered. Formerly, trade between India and Europe was carried on mostly by land. Of the three or four routes familiar to merchants the most important were those by:—(1) Afghanistan, Persia, Asia-minor and Trebizond; (2) Damascas, Syria, by way of Basrah and the Persian Gulf; (3) Alexandria, Egypt, Red Sea and Indian Ocean. These routes, to say the least, were dangerous and difficult and already European merchants had begun to think of diverting Asiatic commerce to newer and safer channels. At this stage an event occurred which gave an impetus to the discovery of a new route. This was the capture of Constantinople by the

Turks in 1453 which cut off Europe from the lucrative trade of Asia. Hence the necessity to discover a sea-route to India and China became urgent. An incentive to the new venture was given by great rewards offered by European merchants whose ambition it was to re-open communication with the East. Even kings interested themselves in the matter. Portugal took the lead; because with the decline of the Mediterranean, Portuguese and Spanish ports became the starting points of expedition. Prince Henry the Navigator financed many an enterprise undertaken to discover new lands. Bartholomew Diaz set sail and discovered the Cape of Storms in 1487. Eleven years passed before Vasco de Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and landed at Calicut.

America:–Spain followed in the wake of Portugal. An expedition was fitted under the leadership of Columbus, who in 1492 landed in the Bahamas, a group of the West Indian Islands. The object of all voyages in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the discovery of a sea-route to India. It was in one such venture that Columbus discovered America. In fact, he believed for a long time that he had discovered India. This accounts for the name "Indies." Spain's contribution to knowledge does not stop here. Magellan's voyage round the world, and the discovery which it led to, must be ascribed to her; for it was in the service of the Spanish king that he proved, to the wonder of the European world, the roundness of the earth.

Inventions:—Besides these geographical discoveries, the period was rich in inventions. The most famous invention of the time, which was a result of the spirit of scientific research, stimulated by the Renaissance, was the Mariners' Compass. So far the ships were merely coasting vessels. The new invention revolutionised navigation, gave birth to the new spirit of enterprise and served as a guide to the mariners who began to explore the deep. Bigger crafts came to be built followed by the development of sea-borne trade. Another important invention was the printing press, which did much to diffuse knowledge and spread new ideas. Besides, it applied itself to the production of maps and charts, whereby it became impossible to preserve the secrecy of the ocean-routes. The result was to stimulate navigation. Lastly, the invention of gun-powder effected a thorough change in the methods of warfare. In the face of the artillery the baronial castles declined in importance.

Results:—The discoveries and inventions had far-reaching results. Spain and Portugal grew very rich and powerful. The one established a land empire over the West Indies, Peru and Mexico. The other set up a trading empire with its centres at Brazil in South America, Goa in India, and Malacca in the East Indies. Further, while the cities and ports of the Mediterranean declined, those of Western Europe rose into prominence. The New World opened a vast field for colonisation and the rush to it was followed by mutual jealousy and war between the nations of Europe in the eighteenth

century. Particularly, England profited by the discoveries. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries France was considered the natural field of English expansion. English kings one after another strove in vain to conquer territory in France. The time-old policy was now abandoned, and she realised that she was an island nation with a great future before her. As a result of the discovery of America, she came to occupy a central position in the world, the road to which branched from her very gates. In a word, she became a maritime nation and in the succeeding century laid the foundations of the vast 'Empire in which the sun never sets.'

CHAPTER II.

The Greatness of Spain & Portugal.

"The Spanish colonial system was not confined to civil government, but embraced commerce, religion, finance and a military establishment; all of which were under the authority and management of the Crown. The colonies possessed no political privileges; their only civil rights were purely municipal." Historians' History of the World.

Motives:—By right of discovery the New World belonged to Spain. For a long time the precious metals were the only attraction for Spain to occupy America. The fabulous wealth of the New World would strengthen her position in the Old. For, from the first, the colonies were looked upon as a source of wealth to the mother country. Then America offered immense scope for the expansion of Spanish trade and commerce, since valuable products such as tobacco, spices, sugar, and ginger could be cultivated by means of slave labour. There was also the motive to carry the mission of Christ to the New World. The Spaniards looked upon the conversion of the heathen as a sacred duty entrusted to them. Lastly, underlying all these motives was a passion for exploration and adventure.

Preparation:—Spain was eminently fitted to give the lead to European expansion. In the first place

without being an island she enjoys the advantage of isolation. She is surrounded on almost three sides by water while the lofty Pyrennes on the north secure her from invasion. Thus her geographical position enabled her to shape her own destiny and achieve early in her history that internal unity which is a necessary condition of external dominion. Secondly, the vicissitudes of fortune, the Moorish occupation and the long struggle for the extirpation of the Muhammadans, kindled the feeling of nationality, which found expression in the union of the two powerful kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella enjoyed tranquillity and good government. Her long period of preparation had come to an end, when expeditions for the discovery of new lands started from her shores. She saw her opportunity in the spirit of adventure and supported the expedition under Columbus.

Conquest and Settlement :—Columbus had discovered the West Indies. A quarter of a century was taken up with the colonisation of Hispaniola and Cuba, and the exploration of the American Continent. The work of conquest was begun when Cortes set foot on the Mexican soil. After hard fighting the country was subjugated in 1524. The conquest of Peru was accomplished by Pizzaro. Gradually by conquest and settlement the dominion was extended until it included the whole of the West Indies and vast territories in Central and South America, the chief of which were

Mexico, Peru, Granada, Venezeula; Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay and Argentina.

Colonial Policy:—Spanish America was administered by Viceroys acting for the king who was supreme in all colonial matters. The state interference in colonial affairs was excessive. The colonies were exploited as much as possible for the benefit of the mother country. The restrictions on colonial trade and commerce, the tyranny of the officials and the system of inquisitions were intolerable. "Thus was Spanish America shut up from the world; crippled in its growth, kept in leading strings, and in a perpetual state of minority."

Reasons for Downfall:—"The vast responsibilities that she thus undertook," says Grant, "are among the chief causes of her subsequent downfall." The administration was un-economical and costly. The religious zeal was the chief cause of her failure. The Inquisition suppressed liberty and roused opposition. Her championship of the Counter Reformation involved her in wasteful wars. Lastly, her power and wealth excited the cupidity of other European nations and landed her in endless wars from the effects of which she could never recover. The empire was based on force and force alone could preserve it.

The Portuguese Trading Empire:—The Portuguese empire in the East was of the nature of a trading empire. It was the discovery of the sea-route to India that gave Portugal a prior claim to the monopoly of the Asiatic trade. Vasco de Gama, it has already been said,

landed at Calicut in 1498. Two years later an expedition under Cabral was despatched. He established a factory at Calicut and opened trade with Cannanore and Cochin. Commerce on the West Coast at the time was in the hands of the Arabs. A conflict between the Portuguese and the Arab merchants was inevitable. The first Portuguese Viceroy was Almeyda. He was succeeded by Alphonso Albuquerque whose cherished ambition was to found a Portuguese empire in the East and secure for his countrymen the monopoly of trade with India and China. With that object in view he conquered Goa, took possession of Malacca, which commanded the trade between India, China and Japan, and captured Ormuz, which stands at the entrance to the Persian Gulf. The attempt to take Aden however failed. The effect of his policy was to concentrate in Portuguese hands the entire trade between India and China for a hundred years from 1500 A. D. Besides those mentioned above, Portugal had Brazil in South America, possessions in Africa and other trading stations in India such as Daman, Diu, Mangalore, Quilon, Masulipatam, Negapatam and Chittagong.

Reasons for Downfall:—The causes for the downfall of the Portuguese power are not far to seek. "The mines of Brazil were the ruin of Portugal as those of Mexico and Peru had been of Spain; all manufactures fell into insane contempt. After their gold, the Portuguese abandoned their very soil." The cruelty of the Portuguese alienated the natives, especially the Muhammadans. The policy of mixed marriages devised by Albuquerque to

people the settled areas hastened their fall. After long stay in India the men lost their native vigour and became depraved in morals. The local governments were corrupt. To quote Vincent Smith, "the temporary union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal in 1580 dragged the smaller country into the European quarrels of the larger, while Portugal with its limited area and scanty population lacked resources to supply and control a distant empire." The revenues of Portugal, instead of being spent in the defence of the empire, were diverted to useless wars, to suppress religious freedom in the Netherlands which earned for her the undying hatred of the Dutch.

CHAPTER III.

The Backwardness of England.

Weak and Poor:—In the last chapter we saw how Spain and Portugal had taken the lead in colonial enterprise. England at that time was unfit to undertake a work of such magnitude as the building of empire. The empire begins at home. Nationl unity, patriotism, peace and good government at home, security from foreign invasion, a strong navy and love of adventure, are the primary conditions, without which no nation can be successful in the field of expansion. During the age of discovery Engl nd lacked these attributes. In the first place, what national unity she had attained was impaired by the Wars of the Roses, which rendered her weak and poor. The long wasteful wars at home and abroad had drained the resources of the country and left her entirely discredited. Distress prevailed everywhere. The government was disorganised and peace was what the country wanted. Therefore, she had no time and energy for any undertaking except that of setting her house in order.

Industrial Backwardness:—Industrially she fared no better. She had still to rely on Flanders for her woollen clothes. Her trade depended upon Italy, for her shipping was Italian. At home capital was shy. She was therefore obliged to import foreign capital, to

finance big enterprises. Further, her dependence on the continent in the matter of luxuries and necessaries, such as books and weapons, has its own moral to reveal.

The Middle Class:—The nation was without a proper leader. The nobility had perished in the civil strife. The masses had not learnt to unite. The middle class, which was to fight the battle of liberty and figure so much in the growth of Greater Britain in the next century, was yet in its infancy. Englishmen had not that pluck and push which they displayed in the Elizabethan age. Besides, in matters of invention, geographical research, and maritime enterprise they lagged behind other nations. England, as a country, was slow to imbibe the new ideas and forces such as the Renaissance and the Reformation which were remodelling the life of western Europe.

Reluctance to quarrel with Spain:—Add to these, the reluctance on the part of England to pick up a quarrel with Spain. Internally England was not united; on the north Scotland never missed an opportunity to hit her on the back; on the west Ireland gave her troubles. Then she had no navy. A greater reason lay in the fact that Spain was a powerful country and the fear of Spanish aggression now and then haunted her. The greatest reason was that England, being a Catholic country, during the period of discovery, did not seriously question the legality of Pope Alexander's award of the New World to Spain and Portugal. It was the Reformation that made her throw the Bull to the winds. Even then

she hesitated to appear as the open enemy of Spain because she was too much occupied with her own internal problems, to wit, the religious question, the question of succession to the throne, and the presence of Mary Queen of Scots.

Individual Enterprise:—Finally, England appeared last in the field of expansion and discovery, because her efforts in the direction were those of individual Englishmen unaided by the state. On the other hand, the kings and governments of Spain and Portugal, financed and directed all enterprises. The English kings were indifferent to colonial expansion as was evidenced by the neglect of John Cabbot's discovery of Newfoundland.

CHAPTER IV.

The Period of Preparation.

The Tudor Period is a period of training for England in empire-building. The sixteenth century was taken up by England in making adequate preparations to fit herself for the task that awaited her in the next century. The sub-headings, (A) The Tudor Monarchy, (B) The Reformation, (C) The Sea-dogs, (D) The Armada,—will fully explain what those preparations were.

A. The Tudor Monarchy.

"Internationalism is a great mark of the Middle Ages. The Middle Ages knew little or nothing of the sentiment of nationality which is so powerful a factor in Modern Europe" A. J. Grant.

What led to the Tudor despotism:—(i.) The Desire for Peace:—The dawn of the modern epoch saw England weak, poor, and discredited. The Wars of the Roses had quite unnerved her. The nation yearning for peace displayed her readiness and willingness to sacrifice all to secure order and good government. The people were convinced that a strong executive was essential for the promotion and preservation of national unity and independence. This desire for peace at any cost exalted the Tudor sovereigns.

(ii.) Break up of the Nobility:—The Tudor Dictatorship grew out of the ruins of the Wars of the Roses, which destroyed the nobility. Many noble families had

perished in the wars and the power of those that were left was largely reduced. The strength of the nobles lay in their retainers who were a menace to the peace of the country, being the source of all private feuds and civil strife. Therefore, early in his reign Henry VII made it illegal for the nobles to keep retainers under them. This had the desired effect of disarming the barons. Their power was still further crushed by the institution of the court of Star Chamber and the Council of the North, with extra-ordinary powers to try offenders too high for ordinary courts. The selection of the king's advisers from among the middle class indirectly dealt a blow to the barons. Thus, royal authority was enhanced at the expense of the nobility.

(iii) Other Causes:—Other circumstances favoured the growth of Tudor despotism. The Tudor Monarchy was a national monarchy based on popular support. The Tudors were absolute because they were tactful. They ruled in the interests of the nation and never by their acts roused public opposition. They were trusted alike by the nation and the Parliament. They were more fortunate in that the middle class had not grown strong enough to assert itself. Besides, being independent of Parliament for supply they never came into conflict with it. What with strict economy, forced loans, and benevolences, Henry VII filled the treasury. Henry VIII grew fat on the wealth of the monasteries. Lastly, the people acquiesced in their rule because their minds were pre-occupied with the Renaissance and the Reformation.

What these forces were and how they influenced English politics will be noticed in the next sub-division.

Results of the Tudor Despotism :—The Tudor despotism was benevolent and popular. It prepared England for the great task of founding an empire. Henry VII gave the country time to recover from the effects of civil war. He sought to strengthen her by a policy of external alliance with Spain and Scotland. The keen competition in the next reign, between Charles V of Spain and Francis I of France for England's support, reveals how from a position of insignificance she had become a factor in European politics. She was freed from foreign yoke in religion. The defeat of the Armada towards the close of the century humbled Spain and removed the fear of foreign invasion. Nearer home, Ireland was pacified, the way was paved for the union of Scotland, and the kingdom of Wales had been incorporated into England. At home, Henry VIII concentrated national energy in home defence. His greatest services to the nation were the creation of the Tudor Navy and the passing of laws calculated to foster English shipping. Under Elizabeth, the settlement of the religious question left the nation free to turn its attention to maritime enterprise. A century of peace and settled government brought prosperity. The middle class had grown wealthy and strong. The new aristocracy with a practical turn of mind displayed its readiness to combine with the merchants of the town in profitable ventures. The spirit of adventure was born. Seafaring life had begun to

attract even the country people. Experience had been gained in ocean roving. To crown all, a national government and a national church kindled the patriotism of the people which achieved the defeat of the Armada and established that supremacy of England over the seas which is the primary condition of success in colonial enterprise. Thus, Tudor Dictatorship was a necessary preparation for England's external growth.

B. The Reformation.

"The Renaissance was, moreover, the revolt of the individual against medieval collectivism".

"On its spiritual side the Reformation was a revolt of the individual against the collective control of the Catholic Church and of a laity, growing in intelligence, against the sacredotal tutelage of the middle classes". Pollard.

The Renaissance and the Reformation:—The religious unity of Western Europe was broken by the Reformation, which is the name given to the great religious schism that split the Christian Church into two well-defined factions. It was a product of the Renaissance which had its birth in Italy. The New Learning aided by the printing press spread all over Europe and created the critical atmosphere. It set men thinking and they began to strike a new path for themselves in religion as in art, literature and science. A study of the Bible revealed the "emptiness of the Papacy" and the manifold abuses prevalent in the Church. Reformers arose and attacked the Pope. The Reformation began its career in

Germany under the auspices of Martin Luther and supplanted Catholicism in all except the Latin countries. The followers of Luther broke away from Rome and were called Protestants because they protested against the authority of the Pope.

The Reformation in England :—In England it was the divorce question that pressed the claims of the new form of the old faith on the attention of Henry VIII. He had married his brother's widow, Catherine of Aragon. The marriage was legalised by the Pope. As years passed Henry grew tired of his wife and loved a court beauty Anne Boleyn by name. Moreover he had only a daughter by Catherine and the question of succession to the throne began to annoy him. Henry applied to the Pope for the dissolution of the marriage; but the latter, on his part fearing to offend Charles V of Spain, nephew of Catherine, delayed as much as possible to commit himself one way or other. Henry was enraged and carried through Parliament the Act of Supremacy and other laws which destroyed the power of the Pope in England. The King of England was recognised as the Head of the English Church. This was the beginning of the breach with Rome. But Henry's Protestantism did not carry him to any great length. The Reformation in his time was political in character. It meant nothing more than supplanting the power of the Pope. His successor Edward VI introduced sweeping doctrinal changes. Under Mary there was a reaction to Catholicism followed by the persecution of the Protestants which

earned for her the name of "Bloody Mary." But Catholicism was bound to fail; for the Catholic cause was a foreign cause. It was Elizabeth who defined the state religion of England. There was at last a national English Church.

Results:—The Reformation not only made the Church national but completed the forces of the national movement which culminated in the union of England and Scotland. It released Englishmen from the obligation to respect Pope Alexander's division of the New World between Spain and Portugal, gave a religious sanction to the buccaneering expeditions of the Elizabethan Sea-dogs, and supplied the strongest of motives for colonisation. To understand this, it is necessary to realise that religion was a great force in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Religious antagonism was carried to such a length that Spanish ships were considered lawful prizes of war by the Protestants. The Reformation was at the bottom of the piratical activities of the west country mariners, which afforded the best training in seamanship and naval warfare.

C. The Sea Dogs.

"If piracy developed faulty morals it produced the best seamanship in the world." Pollard.

English Exploration:—The Reformation and the religious activity that followed it, led to the awakening of England. Though a beginning had been made in

exploration during the reign of Henry VII by John Cabot, who discovered Newfoundland in 1497 and received for the services a reward of ten pounds from the king, the real beginnings of maritime enterprise must be sought for in the post-Reformation period. It was at this time that Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor sailed up the coast of Norway in search of the North East Passage to China. "The fate of Willoughby was as tragical as the issue of the voyage of Chancellor was successful." Chancellor reached Archangel and his voyage opened commercial relation between England and Russia. When this attempt to discover the North East Passage failed, Englishmen could only think of attacking the Spanish monopoly of trade with the New World. In this situation the Marian persecution so hardened the Protestants that they grew bold to defy the power of Spain. The wealth of Spain excited the jealousy of the Devonshire Sea-dogs who took a real pleasure in plundering the Spanish treasure ships. The period was marked by the growth of a reckless spirit of adventure, the three stages of which are represented by three types of adventurers. Hawkins belongs to the first school of peaceful trade, Drake and Grenville to the second of irregular warfare, Gilbert and Raleigh to the third of colonisation beyond the sphere of Spanish domain.

Hawkins and Slave-Trade:—John Hawkins hailed from Plymouth. He was a peaceful trader and his only aim was to break the Spanish monopoly of trade with the New World. Knowing that slave labour was much

in demand, and was paid for highly by the planters, he captured three hundred negroes from Africa and sold them in the West Indies. Encouraged by the success of his first voyage, he made a second attempt. He suffered indeed for want of water, but managed to dispose of his cargo. A third expedition was fitted out in 1567. It consisted of five ships, one of which was put under the command of his cousin Francis Drake. Hawkins was driven by hurricane into the gulf of Mexico where he was treacherously set upon by the Spaniards. Only two of the ships managed to escape and the voyage ended in failure. The voyages of Hawkins disclosed that the wealth of the New World was at the disposal of a strong power determined to break the Spanish monopoly. From the failure of the last voyage it became clear that peaceful trade with America was closed for ever. The second school of privateering was the natural consequence.

Drake:—Drake and Grenville were representatives of the second school which had for its object the harrying of Spanish treasure ships. Drake belonged to Devonshire and was one among those who suffered with Hawkins in his last voyage. The cruelty and treachery of the Spaniards hardened his heart and he became an implacable enemy of Spain. In 1571 he set sail from Plymouth, saw the Pacific, and successfully plundered the Spanish treasure ships. England and Spain were at peace at the time. So Elizabeth publicly disapproved of his action. He was however secretly encouraged. In 1577 he sailed with five ships on his famous voyage round the world and

reached South America where four ships came to grief. Only the "Golden Hind" escaped. Next, he entered the open waters of the Pacific, proclaimed the Queen's sovereignty in California which he christened "New Albion," plundered the Spanish ships, sailed westward, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and returned home after an absence of nearly three years. In recognition of his services he was created a knight. He had now become a terror to the Spaniards. His next exploit was to enter the Cadiz harbour and burn the ships which Philip II of Spain had collected for the invasion of England. This action was described as "the singeing of His Catholic Majesty's beard." When the Armada sailed up the Channel he was playing tennis. He finished the game and went to meet the Spaniards. He had spent his life so much in the sea that when he died he was accorded a watery burial.

Sir Richard Grenville:—Sir Richard Grenville was equally famous as an implacable enemy of Spain. He was so reckless and daring that the Spaniards were terribly afraid of him. On one occasion when he was surrounded by the Spanish fleet, he maintained his position against odds and fought single-handed. Ship after ship, tried to board the "Revenge." The attempt failed miserably. One long night he made a heroic stand and in the action was mortally wounded. He died like a hero with the words "Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind, for I have ended my life as a good soldier ought to do, who has fought for

his country, his queen and his religion." By this time Drake's methods had lost their glamour for Englishmen. The wreckless spirit of adventure had cooled down to sober commercial calculations.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert:—Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh belong to the third school of colonisation and exploration. Gilbert was a native of Devonshire and took a keen interest in the study of geography and navigation. He published a book called the "Discourse" in which he strove to prove the feasibility of a north-west passage to India and China. He was the pioneer of a new school which attempted peaceful settlement, and his contribution to the history of the Empire was the colonisation of Newfoundland in 1583. Historically, the attempt is valuable, though it failed.

Sir Walter Raleigh:—Sir Walter Raleigh continued the work of Gilbert. He belonged to the same country as Drake; he was, besides being an adventurer, a courtier, scholar and poet. The dearest wish of his heart was to spread the power and fame of England by founding colonies in the New World. He made several voyages and introduced tobacco and potato into Europe. In 1584 he obtained permission of the Queen to found a colony in America, and Virginia was the result. It was so named in honour of the Virgin Queen. But the attempt proved a failure; for the settlers were not made of that stuff which colonists should be composed of. Raleigh was however undismayed by failure and headed another expedition to South America to explore the delta of the

Orinocco where he came into conflict with the Spaniards. He was an enemy of Spain and played his part in the defeat of the Armada. He was sacrificed by James I for private ends. He mounted the scaffold cheerfully remarking at the axe, as he died: "This is sharp medicine, but it is a sound cure for all diseases."

These men were typical of the age. Piracy afforded the best training in seamanship and naval warfare. It revealed the weakness of Spain and provided a navy without national cost. The experiences of the Sea-dogs stood the nation in good stead in the hour of peril.

D. The Spanish rivalry ending in the Armada.

History of the Anglo-Spanish relation in the 16th Century:—Henry VII was at peace with Ferdinand of Spain. In order to cement their friendship, the marriage of Arthur with Catherine of Aragon was brought about. But Arthur died immediately after the marriage. Henry VII who was very tenacious of the Spanish alliance got a papal dispensation authorising the marriage of his second son, the future Henry VIII, with Catherine. France and Spain soon quarrelled. Ferdinand formed the Holy League which had for its object the expulsion of the French from Italy. Henry VIII was invited to join the League. He led two expeditions to France, and after the victories of the Spurs and Flodden withdrew from the alliance. In the rivalry between Francis and Charles V Henry again took the side of Spain and defeated Francis at Patavia. But the divorce question estranged England and Spain. The two countries

drifted apart. The marriage of Mary and Philip, however, threatened to link together the fortunes of both the countries and resulted in the loss of Calais. Elizabeth for a time managed by the bait of marriage to remain at peace with Spain. But the activities of the Counter-Reformation made war inevitable.

Causes for the Armada:—The attempt on the part of Englishmen like Hawkins to break the Spanish monopoly of trade with the Indies, the attack on the Spanish settlements by privateers like Drake, the plunder of the Spanish treasure ships in the narrow seas, the secret help given by Elizabeth to the Protestant Netherlanders in their struggle against Spain, the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, and most of all, religious animosity and the daring exploit of Drake in the Cadiz harbour, were among the causes for the Armada.

The Defeat of the Armada:—The Armada under the command of Medina Sidonia entered the English Channel, where it met the English fleet under Lord Howard of Effingham. Besides Drake, Hawkins and Raleigh, there were several captains of ships who had won renown in the Carribean Sea. A storm broke out and wrecked the Spanish ships which were like "Castles in the sea." "Patient foresight, organisation and fine leading were the true causes for the English victory."

Results:—The defeat of the Armada humbled Spain and made England mistress of the seas. It was followed by an outburst of naval enterprise and increased participation in the trade with America. Protestantism

was saved. The fear of foreign invasion passed away. It marked the triumph of English nationality. The supremacy over the seas alone made it possible for England to found an empire. With the defeat of the Armada comes to a close the first chapter in the history of English expansion.

Resume:—To summarise, Henry VII's policy of external alliance and the much-needed rest he gave the country; Henry VIII's creation of the Tudor Navy and his encouragement of English shipping; Elizabeth's caution and statesmanship in religious and foreign affairs; the long century of peace and prosperity resulting in the growth of an intelligent middle class and a new aristocracy with a practical turn of mind; the foundations of union with Scotland and the conquest of Ireland; in a word, the benefits of Tudor despotism, the Reformation, the Marian persecution, and the resultant religious animosity against Spain, the spirit of adventure, and the training given by the school of piracy in naval engagements, the outburst of patriotism, the defeat of the Armada, the establishment of English supremacy at sea, above all, the experiences of explorers like Gilbert, Frobisher and Raleigh, were a long catalogue of preparation for the next period of colonisation. Everything was ready, and a strong motive was all that was required to turn to account England's long apprenticeship to empire-building.

NOTE:—**Importance of the North West Passage.**

English maritime enterprise in the sixteenth century was directed towards the discovery of a north-west

passage to the east. Sir Humphrey Gilbert believed it was feasible and Frobisher actually made three voyages between the years 1576-78 with the object of realising the dream of all Elizabethan mariners. But beyond the proclamation of the nominal sovereignty of the Queen over Labrador and Greenland, the voyages were productive of no other result. However, they inspired John Davis. He made three attempts in two years, proceeded beyond Frobisher's Bay and lent his name to an important arm of the sea.

The motives which guided Englishmen in this hopeless search were political, naval and economic. In the first place, Portugal held the passage by the Cape of Good Hope. Drake's exploits had, indeed, revealed her weakness, but England was not prepared to push her trade at the point of the sword. Secondly, the voyage by the Cape was fraught with dangers because all the coaling and watering stations on the route were Portuguese possessions. A conflict between the merchants of both the nations was inevitable, to avoid which the Elizabethans sought a passage to the East in a different direction. The South American route belonged to Spain and the north-eastern route by Russia and Persia was costly and uninviting. The Atlantic alone was open. Lastly, "the search for the North-West Passage was a groping in the dark for new markets and rich produce." A market for English woollen stuff could be found only in the cold and temperate regions such as Cathaia, Tartary and Japan.

BOOK III.

The Seventeenth Century: The Dutch Rivalry. 1603-1688.

Features of the Stuart Period:—The leading features of the Stuart period are—(1) The struggle between King and Parliament; (2) Peaceful Trade and Settlement; and (3) The Dutch Rivalry. [The present chapter is devoted to the first mentioned topic and the subsequent chapters will deal in order with the other features.]

CHAPTER I.

The Struggle Between King And Parliament.

"The development of England at every stage has been largely influenced by the character of its monarchs.'! Marten.

A. Causes for the Struggle: Changed Circumstances.

The chief interest of the Stuart period lies in the struggle between King and Parliament. The Tudors were absolute; but when the Stuarts attempted to continue the traditions of the Tudor monarchs they naturally came into conflict with their Parliaments, because the causes which made Tudor despotism possible were no onger present in the seventeenth century. There was

peace at home and abroad. Scotland was united and Ireland was pacified. With the defeat of the Armada, the fear of foreign invasion and the need of the Tudor dictatorship had passed away. The country had enjoyed a long period of rest. The middle class had grown strong enough to assume the leadership of the nation. The religious problem was solved. Men had begun to turn their attention to internal politics. The spirit of defiance was there and was disclosed in the closing years of the reign of Elizabeth. In a word, the nation had begun to assert itself.

B. The character of the Stuarts.

The character of the first two Stuarts precipitated the struggle between them and their Parliaments, They were both tactless. James I was a prodigy of learning. But he was talkative and was constantly lecturing to Parliament on sovereignty and royal prerogative. Conceited, indolent and timid he was so much a bundle of inconsistencies that the French king once described him as "the wisest fool in Christendom."

Charles I was a man of self-contradiction, absolutely untrustworthy, obstinate and of an intriguing nature. Both James and Charles trusted to favourites, whom they were prepared to shield from the attacks of Parliament. This determination of the kings to save their favourites from impeachment brought about a cleavage between the Crown and the national body. Further, they were very anxious to define the King's prerogative. "The rights of kings and peoples never agree so well together as in

silence." This circumstance coupled with their lack of understanding to gauge the temper of the nation made a conflict inevitable. What was more, they were at variance with the policy of the nation on all vital questions. At a time when national feeling ran high against Spain, James desired to be friendly with that country. When the nation was anti-Catholic, both James and Charles sympathised with the Roman Catholics. It is no wonder then that the King and Parliament disagreed.

C. Foreign policy.

Both James and Charles were inclined towards an alliance with the Catholic powers, France and Spain. While the Thirty Years' War was raging in Europe, and Protestantism was losing ground, James I was negotiating a match between his son and the Spanish Infanta. Charles actually married a Catholic princess. The failure of English attempts to relieve the besieged Huguenots only served to irritate the Protestant nation.

D. Financial policy.

The most important subject round which the fight for political liberty in the seventeenth century centred was the question of taxation. The royal revenue was insufficient and Parliament demanded redress of grievances before voting supplies. James and Charles on their part chose rather to dissolve Parliament than have their powers cut down. Consequently, they resorted to illegal ways of raising money. The sale of monopolies and titles, tonnage and Poundage, benevolences, forced loans, impositions and

fines were some of their expedients to increase their income. The Third Parliament of Charles forced upon him the Petition of Rights which declared illegal:—(1) the levying of taxes and loans without the consent of Parliament; (2) the arbitrary imprisonment of persons without trial; (3) the billeting of soldiers in private houses and (4) the exercise of martial law in times of peace. Charles gave his assent to the Petition but continued to levy tonnage and poundage without parliamentary sanction. He went further and raised money by distraint of knighthood and the imposition of ship-money. John Hampden refused to pay the tax. Seven out of twelve judges decided in favour of the king. The system of taxation and other irritating methods of finding funds were bound to produce friction.

E. Religious policy.

Their religious policy widened the gulf between them and their Parliaments. The religious settlement of Elizabeth did not satisfy a section of the community. The Puritans expected much from the Presbyterian James I. The king however hated the Presbyterian and supported the Arminian or American Church. He was inclined to show some favour to the Catholics rather than to the Nonconformists, (those who did not belong to the Established Church of England) under which term the Puritans were included. This policy was bound to meet with resistance from the House of Commons which was more or less Puritan in character.

Scotland was the weak point of Charles I. James had imposed on the Scots the five Articles of Perth which savoured of Catholicism. The Scots hated all bishops. Their Church government was entrusted to Presbyters or elders. Charles following the advice of Laud went beyond his father and forced a new Liturgy on the Scottish nation. This was more than the Scots could bear. To preserve their religion they signed the National League and Covenant. The First Bishops' War broke out and ended in the defeat of the king. But his intrigue and uncompromising attitude led to the Second Bishops' War. Finally, he had to yield to the Scottish demand for the abolition of Episcopacy.

F. The Work of the Long Parliament.

The Scottish rebellion forced the king to summon a Parliament in 1640 which came to be known as "The Long Parliament." It proceeded to clip the powers of the king. Laud and Wentworth, the chief advisers of the king, who had helped him much during the "Eleven Years' Tyranny," were executed. The Court of High Commission, the Star Chamber, and the Councils of the North and Wales, which in the hands of Charles had become regular engines of tyranny, were abolished. Ship-money and other exactions were declared illegal. The Grand Remonstrance was drawn up. The House, so far united, was split up by the Root and Branch Bill. The Militia Bill, which transferred the command of the army from the King to Parliament, and the attempt on the

part of Charles to arrest the five members of the House brought on the Civil War.

The Civil War:—The country was almost equally divided between the Cavaliers and the Roundheads. In the initial stages the victory was on the side of the king. But with the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant by the English Parliament and the appearance of Cromwell as the leader of the Parliamentary forces, the tide of battle began to turn in favour of Parliament. The Royalist army was defeated at Marston Moor and again at Newbury. The New Model army of Cromwell won the battle of Naseby. In Scotland the Royalist forces under Montrose after a brilliant series of successes were defeated at Philiphaugh. Charles surrendered to the Scots in 1646. The Civil War had come to an end. The king was tried and executed.

Final Victory for Parliament:—The long struggle for liberty ended ultimately in a victory for Parliament. The overthrow of Charles was followed by the establishment of a Republic in England with Cromwell as Protector. The experiment lasted ten years and Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660. He managed to be on amicable terms with Parliament. James II tried to subvert the constitution. He claimed the power to suspend the operation of laws and the right to dispense with laws in certain cases. He revived the Courts of High Commission and attempted to rule tyrannically with the aid of a standing army. The Declarations of Indulgence and the trial of the Seven Bishops brought matters to a

head. William of Orange was invited to England. James abdicated. The Revolution of 1688 once for all decided that Parliament and not the king is supreme. It made England a Limited Monarchy.

Results :—The struggle between King and Parliament had an important bearing on England's external growth. It supplied the most powerful of motives for colonisation. The Puritans migrated to the New World in large numbers in order to enjoy that freedom of worship which they were denied at home. The new emigrants were the best material for colonising work. The influence of the political condition of England on the growth of New England is brought out much more clearly by the fact that Massachussetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine and Maryland were founded between 1629-40 during the Eleven Years' Tyranny of Charles I. Liberty appeared to have been accorded a decent burial in the Old World. Consequently, the New World attracted the liberty-loving among her people. Freedom became a powerful incentive for emigration and overcame the difficulty of inducing men to leave their homes for distant lands.

CHAPTER II.

An Age of Trade and Colonisation by Peaceful Settlement.

"In the colonisation of America, religion appears everywhere, now as the inspiration of unbounded heroism, endurance and justice, now as the technical excuse for unlimited duplicity, ravage and murder."

"In the exploration of America, gold and the spices of India were the wills-o,-the-wisp that drew the unwilling victim through marsh and thicket and morass."

Historians' History of the World.

Why so called?:—The seventeenth century is an age of Trade and Colonisation by Peaceful Settlement. It is at once the starting point of English expansion and the history of the 'lost-empire.' At the opening of the century England had not a plot of ground beyond the British waters; but at the end she had become a factor to be reckoned with in colonial enterprise. The peroid of exploration and experiment in colonisation had come to an end with the reign of Elizabeth. An era of peaceful plantation and trade set in. It is called the period of peaceful settlement, because the settlers selected only those places for their abode which were beyond the Spanish domain, so that there might be no exchange of blows in the process of colonisation. In fact, all the

colonies in America and in the West Indies, with the exception of New York and Jamaica, were gained during this period by peaceful settlement.

A. Premature Attempts at Colonisation.

Exploration:—The idea of settlement appealed to the Elizabethans when the first enthusiasm for enterprise, characteristic of the early days of Elizabeth, died out. Privateering lost its attraction, when the dividends of plunder began to dwindle, as a natural consequence of the fortification of the Spanish ports of the New World and the strong escort given to their treasureships. Adventurers of a different type arose, with sober views and aims of exploration and colonisation. Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor anticipated Frobisher and Davis. While the vision of the North-East Passage was far from being realised the dream of the North-West Passage took possession of Gilbert, Frobisher and Davis. It was a fruitless search and Frobisher's proclamation of the Queen's sovereignty, on the shores of the bay which bears his name produced no result. However, his voyages are interesting in so far as they are typical of the Elizabethan voyages in which exploration and settlement keep pace together.

Colonisation:—In the field of colonisation no name is more important than that of Sir Humphrey Gilbert or Sir Walter Raleigh. The first English colony in the New World was the work of the former, who, in the year 1583 landed at St. Johns in Newfoundland with three ships full of prospective settlers. The

colony was indeed short-lived. Better luck did not attend the attempts of that more famous but unfortunate courtier of Elizabeth. The region north of the modern state of North Carolina was first explored and a company of one hundred and eight settlers landed in 1585 at Virginia. The colonists were quite unfit for the hardships of clearing the country and bringing the virgin soil under cultivation. It was not surprising therefore that they returned in the following year with Drake. But Raleigh was undismayed by failure. He made a second attempt with no better result. But much spade work had been done and credit must be given to the pioneers for having prepared the ground. Beyond the right conferred by the proclamation of the Queen's sovereignty in New Albion and Frobisher's Bay, and a priority of claim to colonise Newfoundland and Virginia, England at the time of Elizabeth's death had not a foot of land outside the British seas.

Reasons for Failure:— The reasons for the failure of colonial enterprise in the sixteenth century are not far to seek. In the first place, the magnitude of the undertaking was as ill-understood as it was pre-mature. The hardships of life in a new and distant land were hardly understood. Moreover, the men had no unity of aim. Some of them were searching for the North-West Passage, others for gold. When their lust for the precious metal was ill-satisfied they became tired of their exile and were anxious to return home. Then, the leaders were enthusiastic, but ignorant and unbusinesslike. Again the

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state-aid to private enterprise was not forthcoming, because Tudor England was weak, consequently unfit to undertake such responsibilities. She could not encourage the emigration in large numbers of able-bodied men and women. The colonists, being either paupers, or vagrants, or 'never-do-wells,' were bad material for peopling a new land. For colonisation demands of the settlers the virtues of patience and endurance. Above all, a strong motive for emigration, as for instance, the desire for religious and political freedom, which in the next century was to give an impetus to the movement, was singularly absent in the Elizabethan age.

B. The Growth of the American Colonies.

"In the West the age of settlement was, for England, quite distinct from the age of adventure. One set of men surveyed the field; another set of men came in later and tilled it." Charles Lucas.

Virginia:—Commerce and colonisation were as much the dominant note of the seventeenth century as plunder and piracy were the ruling passions of the early days of Elizabeth. The romantic spirit had given place to sober commercial activity. The treaty with spain (1604), which in a way recognised the right of other nations to colonise vacant lands in America outside the Spanish domain, encouraged men to persevere in the ways of Gilbert and Raleigh. The success of the Dutch and the English East India Companies pointed the same way. The two aims of settlement and trade were kept together.

Thus the Virginia Company was formed in 1606 with the double object of promoting trade as well as settlement. In pursuance of this purpose the royal charter for the settlement of the region of Roanoke was obtained. The first settlers set sail and colonised Virginia in 1607. In due course, the colonists got over the initial difficulties incidental to such enterprises, and the new colony began to thrive under the able guidance of Captain John Smith. It is an irony of fate that the first successful English colony should be founded in Virginia in the very site chosen by the ill-fated Raleigh.

The Pilgrim Fathers:—The enterprise of the Pilgrim Fathers was inspired by the success of Virginia. It was, however, undertaken from different motives. The accession of James I brought no relief to the Puritans, a large number of whom had early in that reign taken refuge in Holland. At last, they decided to emigrate to the New World. It was religious discontent that led to the formation of a Chartered Company in 1620, with the object of founding a new Church in a foreign land, where the settlers might enjoy freedom of worship. The first band of settlers known as the Pilgrim Fathers set sail in the Mayflower, landed at Cape Cod and founded the colony of New Plymouth. They were unfortunate in the choice of their site. "The climate was severe, the soil was not over-fertile, and the Indians were given no cause to be friendly." But the settlers were excellent material for pioneering work; hence, they were undismayed by severe trials.

New England:—Emboldened by the success of the Pilgrim Fathers, a band of ardent Puritans founded the Massachussetts Company in 1629, with aspirations not different from those which had inspired their forerunners. Massachussetts was founded and in less than ten years it outgrew both Plymouth and Virginia in population as well as prosperity. A line of settlements soon sprang up along the Atlantic coast which together with Plymouth, New Hampshire (1622) and Maine (1623) came to be called New England. Rhode Island (1636) and Connecticut (1639) were the outcome of the religious intolerance of the Massachussetts settlers, who had themselves left their homes in the Old World in search of religious liberty.

Other Colonies:—The foundation of England's first and 'lost-empire' was not the exclusive work of the Puritans. The Catholic and the first proprietary colony of Maryland founded in 1634 by Lord Baltimore, the proprietary plantations of North and South Carolina of 1663 and 1666, and the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania set up by William Penn in 1681, owe their origin to much the same cause that drove the Puritans from their homes in England.

New York:—Of the thirteen colonies that fringed the Atlantic coast, New York was won by a method different from that of peaceful plantation. The Dutch colony on the Hudson was a barrier to the continuity of he English settlements. Consequently, it was conquered

during the Dutch War in 1665, and by the Treaty of Breda, (1667), it passed into English hands.

Georgia :—As an experiment in colonisation, Georgia, (1732) the last move of British enterprise in America along the Atlantic coast, stands alone; for, alone amongst the colonies it received a direct grant of public money. It belongs to the Pennsylvanian type with its distinguishing social ideal.

All the colonies with the exception of Virginia, New York and Georgia were more or less the direct outcome of religious persecution. Their dates are instructive and point to the same conclusion. The political unrest and religious discontent at home inaugurated an epoch of colonisation.

The West Indies :—England got a comparatively easy footing in the West Indies, owing to the neglect by the Spaniards of a group of islands known as the Leeward and the Winward Isles. St. Christopher (1623), commonly known as St. Kitts, has the honour of being the first of England's island colonies. In less than two decades, the other islands of the Leeward group—Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat and Dominica—were occupied by settlers from St. Kitts. But the first English colony in the West Indies proper was Barbados, which was settled in 1624. The Bahamas (1646) take their origin as an offshoot of the Bermudas (1607). These colonies belong to the seventeenth century type of peaceful plantation. Jamaica (1655), on the other hand, is the exception that proves the rule. It was the result

of an expedition sent out by Cromwell to capture Hispaniola. "But it was a notable addition to the empire, notable not only in respect of the actual value of the island, but also for the fact that the acquisition was made by the direct action of the state when for a moment a determined man was in control."

C. An Era of Peaceful Trade.

"A rough distinction can be drawn between a sphere of trade and a sphere of settlement, but none the less, settlement develops trade, and trade more often than not, leads to settlement and acquisition of territory."

Charles Lucas.

English Trading Stations & Possessions in India:—To Elizabeth is due the credit of having laid the foundation of the British Empire in India by chartering the East India Company. The English came to India as traders and first came into conflict with the Portuguese. In conjunction with the Dutch they swept away the Portuguese power from the East. From the outset the Spice Islands were the source of attraction to the English as to the Dutch. The English headquarters was Bantam in the island of Java. Their competition with the Dutch in the spice trade ended in the massacre of Amboyna, which had the effect of diverting English attention to the mainland of India, where their first factory had been founded at Surat, then the principal seaport of the Mughal empire. Masulipatam became their first trading station in the east coast. Meanwhile, permission had been obtained

from the Mughal Emperor to trade throughout the empire. In Bengal, the first factory was built at Pipli. It was followed by others at Hugli, Patna, Balasore, Agra and Lahore. The first territorial acquisition of the English in India was Madras, which was purchased in 1639 from Raja of Chandragiri. Charles II in 1668 made over to the Company the island of Bombay for an annual rental of ten pounds. Towards the close of the century the Company purchased the site of Fort St. David near Cudalore, from the Marathas, and three villages in Bengal which eventually became Calcutta. Thus, the foundations were laid of the three Presidency towns.

Conclusion:—One thing becomes clear from the foregoing sketch. The undeveloped, almost uninhabited West became the scene of colonisation, while the thickly populated rich tropical East became the field for trade. This brings out another feature. The distinction made at the very outset between colonies and dependencies is indeed remarkable and noteworthy.

CHAPTER III.

The Attitude of the Early Stuarts and of Cromwell towards the Colonies.

James I and Charles I:—From the account of the growth of the colonies, we must now turn to look at the attitude of the earlier Stuarts and Cromwel towards the Empire. The earlier Stuarts had no colonial policy worth the name. Their attitude was one of indifference to colonial matters. To James I, the goodwill of the Spaniards was more valuable than the Empire. Sir Walter Raleigh was sacrificed for the friendship of Spain. The dissolution of the Virginia Company is another instance to the point. His indifference to the interests of the East India Company was rather supreme. When negotiations were in progress in 1618 between the English and the Dutch, for a settlement of their claims in the East, James I not only did not put in a word on behalf of the English merchants but yielded completely to the Dutch. Nor did he raise his little finger to get the wrongs of the massacre of Amboyna redressed; nay more, he even went to the length of robbing the English merchants of twenty thousand pounds in order to satisfy Buckingham's lust for gold. The early attainment of self-government by the colonies is to be

ascribed to that policy which left them free to work out their own destiny. America was looked upon by both James and Charles as a convenient dumping ground of the undesirable element in the population. It was only under Laud that an attempt was made in vain to subject the colonies to the rigid control of the Home Government.

Cromwell:—To Cromwell, on the other hand, the Empire was everything. His great aim in foreign policy was to strengthen England, save the Protestant religion and extend English commerce. He was, as perhaps the first Englishman to understand the full significance of the word "empire." His first care was to reclaim the navy from the depth of inefficiency into which it had fallen under James I. Appointments to the navy were made on merit. The Navigation Act of 1651 enabled it to measure swords with the Dutch fleet. A squadron was placed in the Mediterranean and another in the West Indies. The English coasts were guarded by a powerful fleet. The colonies were subjected to parliamentary authority. Jamaica was captured from Spain; the Dutch were made to pay a large sum as compensation for the massacre of Amboyna. Cromwell's statesmanship ruined the Dutch trade, destroyed the Dutch fleet, and won for England the command of the Sea. "At a time the only time in English history when democracy developed into dominant republicanism, the only time when Non-conformity triumphed completely, more than half the national revenue

was spent upon the navy, a national policy of commercial exclusion in sea-going traffic was initiated and stoutly upheld, and for the first time, a colony was added to the Empire which had been taken from another European nation by force of arms."

CHAPTER IV.

The Mercantile System.

"The Mercantile system consisted of several or of all of the following factors; (1) bounties on the raising or export of raw materials in the colonies; (2) limitation to the mother country of the export of certain enumerated commodities from the colonies; (3) prohibition of colonial production of manufactured articles; (4) high protective or even prohibitory duties on imports of manufactures from abroad; (5) restriction of the carrying trade between the colonies and the mother country to vessels of the latter." Seligman.

The Mercantile Policy:—The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) is a landmark in European history. It brings to a close the age of religious wars. What follows is a period of wars brought on by commercial and colonial rivalry. It was a time when trade-interest was predominant. England was dominated by the mercantile policy, "a policy of preference and protection in the interests or supposed interests of the nation as a whole, protection of English industries and products, encouragement of English shipping." The interests of English shipping and manufactures were safeguarded, nay, furthered at the expense of the colonies. It was in accordance with this policy that "the mother country regarded her American colonies merely as feeders to her

trade, consumers of her manufactures. and factories for the distribution of her capital."

History of the Navigation Acts:—The mercantile policy was responsible for the Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660. They must not, however, be understood as making a great departure from England's time-honoured policy. The history of laws for the regulation of trade and commerce, is as old as the days of Richard II who in 1382 enacted that none but vessels belonging to the country should be used for transhipment of goods. Henry VIII following the example of his father encouraged English shipping by restricting trade to English ships. Under James I the principle was extended to the colonies But for a long time the Acts were evaded and the Dutch obtained a monopoly of the carrying trade between Europe and America. The commercial prosperity of the Dutch roused the jealousy of the English and led to the passing of the Navigation Act of 1651, with the two-fold object of encouraging English shipping and punishing the Dutch for the cruel massacre of Amboyna.

The Acts of 1651 and 1660:—The Act required that goods imported into England should be carried in English or colonial vessels manned by Englishmen. It aimed at the Dutch carrying trade and resulted in the First Dutch War (1652-55.) The blow indirectly given to the colonies was even greater. They were compelled to exchange cheaper for higher freights, which meant smaller volume of trade with consequent reduced profits.

It goes without saying that the Act was observed more in the breach and had to be reaffirmed and extended by the second Navigation Act of 1660. The law relating to the employment of English ships was re-enacted. It also laid down, that certain specified products such as sugar and tobacco should be exported by the colonies only to England or other English colonies; that all goods imported into the colonies must be shipped from England alone. The underlying motive was *(a)* to encourage English shipping, *(b)* to secure for England the advantage of a central market for the sale of colonial products, and *(c)* to make England the producer for the colonial market. The second Act brought about another conflict with the Dutch and ended by making England once again the 'mistress of the seas'. The effects of the Acts were to eliminate Dutch competition, destroy their shipping, and to cripple colonial trade and industries. The mercantile policy irritated the colonies and became one of the causes for the American War.

Policy of the Restoration:—It was at the Restoration that England's colonial policy began to take definite shape. For the first time, the colonies came to be regarded as a national asset, not only because they were valuable in the interests of English trade and commerce, but because they were necessary and useful for the expansion and defence of the Empire. The mercantile policy was gaining ground and found expression in the Act of 1660 already noticed. Even the details of colonial government began to engage the

attention of statesman like Glarendon, Shaftesbury and Locke. But towards the close of the reign of Charles II a reaction set in. The royal power was abused; the interference of the Crown in colonial affairs became intolerable. The welfare of the colonies was not kept in mind. Self seekers and men of inferior order were appointed as governors; charters became void; favouritism and corruption became rampant.

To conclude, the commercial policy of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was akin to that of Spain. The utter disregard of colonial interests and the deliberate selfishness of the mother country were characteristics inherent in the system, which gave undue prominence to national trade and commerce over all other considerations, political or ethical.

CHAPTER V.

The Dutch Rivalry.

The Dutch in the East:—The interest of the first period of English expansion centres round the Dutch rivalry. The Dutch entered the field of commercial enterprise in the East to share in the enormous profits of the Portuguese and to undermine the power of Spain and Portugal which were united under one king. The bitter prolonged wars between Catholic Spain and the Protestant Netherlands had hardened the Dutch temper. Holland therefore appeared as the natural enemy of Spain and Portugal aiming to strike at the source of their power. An association of Dutch traders delivered their first attack on the Portuguese monopoly of trade in 1595. The Dutch East India Company was formed in 1602. Batavia in Java was founded in 1619 and became the headquarters of the Dutch. One after another the Portuguese settlements were taken. The capture of Malaca in 1641 concentrated in the hands of the Dutch the entire trade with the Spice Islands. Ceylon, Mauritius and other trading centres of the Portuguese were captured before the middle of the century. As if not satisfied with having ruined the Portuguese trade in the East, the Dutch appeared as the rival of Spain in the West. In 1622 they founded the colony of New Amsterdam on the river Hudson. A colony was set up at the Cape of Good

Hope in 1651. They had trading stations also in Tasmania and New Zealand. In India they had factories at Pulicat, Negapatam, Surat, Pipli, Balasore, Patna, Cassimbazar and Hugly.

Rivalry in the East:—Almost simultaneous with the Dutch enterprise, a company of London merchants obtained a charter in 1600 from Queen Elizabeth granting them monopoly of trade with India. The English founded a factory at Bantan, another at Amboyna and a third in a small island in the Banda group. As the aim of both the Dutch and the English East India Companies was to secure the monopoly of the spice-trade, a conflict between the two was inevitable. It was not however before 1612 that open hostilities occurred. The animosity of the Dutch culminated in the cold-blooded massacre of all Englishmen at Amboyna (in 1623). Shut out from trade in the East Indies the English withdrew from competition in the spice-trade and turned their attention to India.

Causes for the first Dutch War, 1652-54:--This commercial rivalry between England and Holland was at the bottom of all the Dutch Wars, which were more than a trial of strength in the sea. The Dutch had not only driven the English out of the Spice Islands, but had secured a monopoly of the world's carrying trade. The English ship-owners and merchants thus handicapped naturally felt jealous of the Dutch who could not be easily forgiven for their atrocities at Amboyna. England retaliated by passing the Navigation Act of 1651. While

fostering English shipping it dealt a heavy blow to the Dutch carrying trade. The immediate cause of the war was the refusal of the Dutch to salute the English flag in the Channel. An actual conflict between the English and the Dutch fleets over this 'question of honour' led to the declaration of war.

The first Dutch War:—The Dutch had in Van Tromp an admiral of proved ability. They were victorious in the early stages of the war. The naval engagement of Dungeness between Tromp and the English admiral Blake ended in the defeat of the latter. The next battle off Portland was however a victory for Blake. The war was brought to a close in 1654. The Dutch acknowledged the superiority of the English fleet and their sovereignty over the seas round Britain. They accepted the Navigation Act and recognised the English right to trade with India and the East

The second Dutch War:— The commercial ambitions of the two countries explain the Second Dutch War which broke out in 1665 and lasted two years. The Restoration brought no change in England's policy. The second Navigation Act of 1660 went beyond the first. Besides affirming the old regulations as regards shipping, it enacted that certain colonial products should be exported only to England or her colonies. It also restricted the imports of the colonies to the products of the mother country. Fighting between the English and the Dutch traders had not ceased with the First Dutch War. This keen competition between the two nations for the

world's trade and commerce led to the outbreak of the Second Dutch War.

The first engagement resulted in a victory for the English. James, Duke of York, inflicted a severe defeat on the Dutch off Lowestoft. The next year the tables were turned. The English fleet under Monck was defeated. The Dutch followed up their victory and destroyed the English ships in the Thames. Meanwhile, New Amsterdam, the Dutch colony on the Hudson, had fallen into English hands. Peace was concluded at Breda by which England obtained New Jersey and New Amsterdam, which were later on united and renamed New York in honour of James, Duke of York.

The third Dutch War:—The Treaty of Breda is not the last word on the subject of the Dutch wars. The Secret Treaty of Dover entered into between Charles II and Louis XIV renewed the war with the Dutch who made a heroic stand and cut off their dykes to save their land from French occupation. Public opinion in England favoured peace with the hard-pressed Protestant Republic. Consequently, in 1664 a treaty was concluded with the Dutch.

Conclusion:—The Dutch wars reveal the importance of sea-power in national expansion. The power of Holland was broken, and a large portion of her trade fell into English hands. The supremacy of the English navy was once again established.

CHAPTER VI.

The French in America.

"If New England was the key of America, New France might, with equal propriety, claim to be the lock; for Canada with the chain of fresh water lakes bordering upon its territory, opened a communication with the distant West; and the Jesuit missionaries by their explorations on the Mississippi, the 'Father of Waters', brought the vast region watered by that stream and its tributaries under the dominion of the Bourbons, and backed all British America with a cordon of military posts." The Historian's History of the World.

Florida:—The first colony in America beyond the Spanish province of Mexico was the work of the Huguenots, the French Protestants. The site chosen for settlement was Florida. It was a private enterprise and was short-lived owing to the severity of the Spaniards. But, "the French Government heard of the outrage with apathy and made not even a remonstrance on the ruin of a flourishing empire in the South before England had planted a single spot on the New Continent."

Quebec, Montreal and Acadia—The exploration of the St. Lawrence by Jacquies Cartier is the starting point of the history of French colonisation in North America. But more than fifty years were to pass before

the work of founding a French empire came to be seriously pursued. It was reserved to Samuel De Champlain to explore the basin of the St. Lawrence. Soon after his return De Monts, a Calvinist, was given the exclusive right to settle between the fortieth and the forty-fifth degrees of latitude. Port Royal in Acadia was colonised in 1606. Two years later Quebec was founded by Champlain who thus became the "Father of New France." In the stormy days of its existence the persevering founder of Quebec successfully established French authority on the banks of the St. Lawrence. "To extent the sphere of French influence and the Catholic religion as well as to induce the savages to patronise French commerce were the objects which inspired both the lay and clerical followers of Champlain. Their wonderful zeal illumined the history of New France with a poetic glamour such as is cast over no other part of America north of Mexico." The settlement of Qubec was soon followed in 1611 by that of Montreal.

Louisiana:—The exploration of the Mississippi, which was the combined work of Joliet and Marquette, led to the foundation of St. Louis by La Salle in 1686. The settlers being few in number escaped. The attempt to resettle Louisiana was renewed in 1699. From time to time the settlers were strengthened by fresh additions until the inhabitants numbered several thousands. But the climate, being unhealthy, was a great obstacle to the progress of the colony.

Comparison between the English and the French colonies:—"The American colonies of France and England grew up to maturity under widely different auspices. Canada, the offspring of the Church and State, nursed from infancy in the lap of power, its puny strength fed with artificial stimulants, its movements guided by rule and discipline, its limbs trained to martial exercise, languished in spite of all from the lack of vital sap and energy. The colonies of England outcast and neglected, but strong in native vigour and self-confiding courage, grew yet more strong with conflict and with striving and developed the rugged proportions aud unwieldy strength of a youthful giant.

Influence of the Freench Settlements on the English:—France now claimed all that lay west of the Alleghaney mountains. Her aim was to unite her settlements on the north with Louisiana, at the mouth of the Mississippi by a line of forts and thus offer an effective check to the expansion of the English. By the middle of the eighteenth century her scheme was near completion. The presence of external foes in the French and the Dutch had one great result. It brought home to the English colonies the value of joint action. As early as 1637 Connecticut started a movement for federation and presented the proposal before the Court of Massachussetts. The Articles of Confederation were agreed upon in 1643. It was a league for offence and defence which lasted till 1684. In internal affairs, the members had of course freedom of action. The second great result was the long

struggle between England and France for colonial supremacy during the eighteenth century. The French scheme if completed would have hemmed in the English along the Atlantic. A stage was reached when further expansion was impossible without striking a blow.

CHAPTER VII.

Influence of Geographical Features on the Growth of the Colonies.

"It is fortunate that the geographical conditions of North America were such as to make her an inviting field for the further migration of the race." Historians' History of the world.

The Pacific Coast:—Much of the history of the United States will be unintelligible without a proper understanding of the geographical condition of the country. In an earlier chapter we saw how as early as 1579, Drake proclaimed the Queen's sovereignty in New Albion on the shores of the Pacific. But no attempt was made to take effective possession of the region, for the obvious reason that Nature has barred the entrance from the west. For, the Pacific Coast is rocky and dangerous. The steep descents to the ocean, the lofty Cordilleran Mountains not far off from the coast, the nature of the rivers of the slope, and the paucity of good natural harbours have all combined to make the approach from the Pacific most uninviting.

The Atlantic Coast:—Nothing is more striking than the contrast between the Atlantic and the Pacific. The development of the colonies might have been checked if the Appalachian mountains like the Cordilleran System

had been an impassable barrier. As it is, "the Atlantic is the threshold of the American continent." The Appalachian mountains are low and lie far inland. The land slopes gently to the coast which abounds in excellent harbours and "land-locked bays." Numerous waterways offer passages to the interior. The St. Lawrence and the great lakes are a natural highway to the heart of the continent. The Potcomac, the Susquehana, the Roanoke and other rivers of the Atlantic slope lead up to their source; and close by are the tributaries of the Mississippi flowing in a westerly direction. "Thus with the entrance of North America facing the east and with Europe lying but little more than half the distance from Boston that Asia lies from San Francisco, it was in the order of things that from the east should have come the people who were to settle and civilise the New World."

Importance of the Rivers :—In the development of the colonies and in the distribution and occupation of the people, the part played by the rivers of the Atlantic border is very instructive. They have imparted to the colonies their distinctive character. The three natural sections into which the Hudson and the Potomac have divided the Atlantic slope account for the growth of three distinct types of colonies. The northern division comprising the New England colonies was Puritan and democratic. The southern plantations were aristocratic, while the central colonies were diverse in character, every variety of race and religion being represented in them. Again, while the short rapid rivers

of New England supplied the water power 'to turn the wheels of industry for a busy ingenious and thrifty people,' the long gentle streams of the south were most important for commerce.

Soil:—This difference between the groups is emphasised by the nature of the soil which is much less fertile in the north than in the south. The forest area extends from Chesapeake Bay up to the Lauretian Mountains. The fibre area from Chesapeake Bay down to the Rio Grande produces the best cotton and tobacco, while the fruit area comprising Florida lies farther south. The sub-soil is rich in coal and iron.

Commercial Advantages:—The broken nature of the coast line and its nearness to Europe, facilities for internal communication and the rich deposits of coal and iron behind its best natural harbours, are certain commercial advantages to which the Atlantic seaboard owes its prominence.

Conclusion:—"There is no fairer land," says The Historians' History of the World, "for the building of a great nation. The region occupied by the United States is particularly available for such a purpose. It offers a wide range of diversity in climate and products, yet is traversed by noble rivers which intimately connect the north with the south, and have been made to bind the east with the west."

BOOK IV.

The Eighteenth Century: The Struggle with France. 1688-1815.

"In the making of the empire this time stands out as an age of foreign wars and as an age in which the direct action of the government was far more in evidence than in the previous century". Charles Lucas.

Features of the Eighteenth Century:—In the seventeenth century the British Empire was mainly the product of private enterprise. The English people settled down in vacant lands. It was an age of peaceful trade and settlement. We now enter upon a period when the State stepped in and actively pushed up its claims to territory, trade and commerce. The eighteenth century was a time when the Empire grew purely as a result of the determination of Great Britain to extend her trade and oversea possessions. Each war had a definite objective, commercial or colonial and each conflict ended in the addition of fresh territory to the Empire or in the expansion of trade and commerce. The colonial importance of the wars is apt to be lost sight of in the European names assigned to them. "Battles were fought on the Rhine, the Elbe, the Danube; German, Austrian, Spanish thrones were shaken to their fall; navies grappled in the Caribbean and the Mahratta hordes were slaughtered on

the rice fields of India, to decide the struggle which ended only upon the Plains of Abraham." The European struggle was only of secondary importance. The real tug of war was outside Europe. The commercial and colonial ambitions of France and England clashed. For a hundred years they were rivals in the race for empire. The leading feature of the period is the long struggle with France. The evolution of the Cabinet system of government and the expansion of England into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland are other charcteristics of the century. The growth of the United Kingdom has been sketched in Book I and will not bear repetition. The present chapter traces the growth of the Cabinet System and the subsequent chapters deal with the Anglo-French rivalry.

CHAPTER I.

The Cabinet System.

"It would be nearer the truth to say that the Cabinet is a committee selected by one member of one party in Parliament from among other members of the same party." Sydney Low.

"The Cabinet is the three-fold hinge that connects together for action the British constitution of King or Queen, Lords and Commons. It is perhaps the most curious formation in the political world of modern times, not for its dignity but for its subtlety, its elasticity and

its many-sided diversity of power. It lives and acts simply by understanding without a single line of written law or constitution to determine its relations to the Monarch or to the Parliament, or to the nation; or the relations of its members to one another or their head." W. E. Gladstone.

Origin:—The Cabinet has its origin as the Committee of the Privy Council, a body of advisers chosen by the king. As time went on the Council grew bulky. By the time of the Restoration it had become so unwieldy that it was unfit for the conduct of state affairs which demand secrecy and despatch. Charles II therefore began the practice of consulting an 'inner Council' on all important matters. This was the beginning of the Cabinet Council. The Cabal ministry of Charles II was the forerunner of the modern Cabinet. Under Charles and his successor James II, the Cabinet was only a "Cabal of the King's servants.". It was only after the Revolution that it began gradually to assume its modern character.

The party system:—The growth of the two great political parties in the kingdom aided the development of the Cabinet system. It was the attempt in 1679 during the reign of Charles II to exclude his brother James Duke of York from the throne that sharply divided the nation into "Whigs and Tories". But party government has its beginnings only in the reign of William III, as a result of the transfer of power from the

king to Parliament. At first, William was opposed to the system of government by party and chose his ministers from both the camps. When this expedient did not work well, the king acting on the advice of Sunderland went in for his ministers to the Whig party, which then commanded a majority in the House of Commons. The 'Junto,' which was the name of the ministry thus formed marks an important stage in the evolution of the modern Cabinet. In the next reign, however, preference was given to a mixed ministry.

Rise of the Prime Minister:—The reigns of the first two sovereigns of the Hanoverian dynasty are memorable and momentous in the history of the Cabinet system. The indifference of the first two Georges to English politics, coupled with the accidental circumstance of their ignorance of English, completed the "Cabinet arch" of which the Prime Minister is the 'Keystone'. Formerly the king used to preside over Cabinet meetings. But George I and George II, since they could not take part in discussions conducted in English, ceased to attend Cabinet Councils. The place thus left vacant by the king was filled by one of the ministers who thus became the Prime Minister. To Walpole belongs the credit of being the first Prime Minister. It must however be understood that the Prime Minister is unknown to the law, that the word does not occur in any public document before 1878, and that it was for a long time unpopular. It was only in 1905 that the Prime Minister as such received social recognition.

Distinction between Cabinet & Privy Council and Cabinet and Ministry:—We began by saying that the Cabinet has its origin as a committee of the Privy Council. But the Cabinet is distinct from that body. "Although historically connected in its origin with the Privy Council, the cabinet council has now no connection with that body, except that every member of it, if not already a privy councillor is made one immediately on joining the cabinet." Another fact which must be borne in mind is that the terms 'ministry' and 'Cabinet' are not synonymous. The former includes all the ministers of whom only a chosen few constitute the 'inner Council.' Law does not recognise either term. "But the truth," says Maitland, "that the Cabinet is unknown to law must not be converted into the falsehood that it is a meeting of persons who have no legal powers."

Features of the Cabinet:—Every one of the Cabinet ministers has three capacities. He is the head of a department of administration, member of a legislative chamber, and a confidential adviser of the Crown. The members of the Cabinet are of one party and "reflect the political colour of the majority in Parliament." They act together as one man and resign in a body when they fail to command a majority in the House of Commons. There is no individual responsibility. The Cabinet is collectively responsible for the acts of individual ministers. To quote the famous passage of Lord Morley of Blackburn; "As a general rule every important piece of departmental policy is taken to commit the entire Cabinet, and

its members stand or fall together. The Chancellor of the Exchequer may be driven from office by a bad despatch from the Foreign office, and an excellent Home Secretary may suffer for the blunders of a stupid Minister of War. The Cabinet is a unit as regards the Sovereign, and a unit as regards the Legislature. Its views are laid before the Sovereign and before Parliament as if they were the views of one man. It gives its advice as a single whole both in the royal closet and in the heriditary or representative chamber. The first mark of the Cabinet, as that institution is now understood, is united and indivisible responsiblity." Another feature is that the Cabinet is a secret though not a private committee. Its meetings are informal and no record of the discussions is kept.

Relation of the Cabinet to the Prime Minister:—The unity and solidarity of the Cabinet depend upon the Prime Minister whose resignation *ipso facto* dissolves the Cabinet and the Ministry. He is appointed by the King, whose choice however is limited to the leaders of the predominant political party having a majority in the Lower House. The Prime Minister chooses his colleagues. As chairman of the Executive Council, as the leader of the Legislature, as indirectly the nominee of the political sovereign or electorate and finally in a special degree as the confidential adviser of the Crown he holds a high and very responsible position. "As the Cabinet stands between the Sovereign and the Parliament and is bound to be loyal to both, so he stands

between his colleagues and the Sovereign and is bound to be loyal to both." The Prime Minister has eclipsed the monarch; but "no where in the wide world," says Mr. Gladstone, "does so great a substance cast so small a shadow; no where is there a man who has so much power with so little to show for it in the way of formal title or prerogative."

CHAPTER II.

The Anglo-French Rivalry : The First Stage.

"Though there were many wars with many people the main enemy of England was France, and in the latter part of the time the wars between England and nations other than France were due to the fact that those nations were dominated by and followed the lead of France".

Charles Lucas.

A. The War of the English Succession: 1689-97.

Causes :—The long rivalry between England and France opens with the Revolution of 1688. What follows is a period of another Hundred Years' War with France waged for the extension and preservation of her oversea possessions. France looked upon the Rhine as her natural boundary on the east. Consequently, her ambition was to extend the eastern frontier to that river, which however could not be accomplished unless at the expense of the German states and the Netherlands. In those days the latter country was split up into (1) Holland administered independently by her own people and (2) the province now known as Belgium then under Spain. In the absence of a natural boundary, the frontier between France and the Spanish province was marked by two lines of fortresses of which those on the Belgium

side were one after another falling into the hands of France. With all the forts in French possession Belgium would be at the mercy of France. The independence of Holland was also threatened. The danger to England was even greater. With the North Sea washing French territory, France would have become a menace to England's security and her maritime trade. At about this time in 1688 William of Orange, the Stadtholder of the Dutch Republic, became king of England. The French King was Louis XIV. His ambition knew no bounds. William and Louis were inveterate enemies. The former had already formed a league against France in 1688. His accession to the English throne was a great hindrance to Loui's career of aggrandisement. Consequently, the French king supported James II in his fight for the lost crown. War broke out in 1689 known as the War of the English Succession.

Events:—In Europe, the British Isles, the sea around and the Netherlands were the scenes of military operations. In Scotland, Viscount Dundee raised the standard of revolt against William. The English forces were defeated at Killicrankie. But with the death of Dundee at the field of battle the danger passed away. In Ireland the rebellion was formidable. William's victory at the river Boyne ruined the cause of James II, and with the fall of Limeric, peace was restored. The naval action in 1690 off Beachy head was a defeat for the combined English and Dutch fleet; but the next engagement off La Hogue in 1692 ended in establishing

the supremacy of England at sea. In the Netherlands, William lost the battles of Steinkirk and Neerwinden (1693). Two years later success attended his efforts to take back the fortress of Namur. There was fighting also in America. The English took Acadia but soon lost it. The French were temporarily successful in taking the forts of the Hudson Bay Company. In 1697 the war was brought to a close by the treaty of Rhyswick; William was recognised King of England. The parties restored the conquests they had made during the war. Thus the English war of succession added no territory to the Empire.

B. The War of the Spanish Succession: 1702-1713.

"Commercially the War of the Spanish Success-ion may be regarded as a triangular duel between England, France and the Dutch, in which England's ally fared worse really though not ostensibly than her enemy. and Holland lost more in this war in which she was successful, than she did in her wars with England in which she was defeated." Pollard.

Causes:—The War of the Spanish succession marks the real beginning of the race between England and France for colonial expansion. Charles II of Spain died childless leaving the Crown to Philip, a grand-son of Louis XIV of France. Immediately, Louis

recognised Philip as his successor to the exclusion of the Dauphin. The union of Spain and France under one king would disturb the balance of power in Europe. For Spain in addition to her Empire in the New world, had in Europe, Milan, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia and the Netherlands. The union of the two crowns was a menace to Holland and England. As was anticipated Louis drove the Dutch from their borders and filled the barrier fortresses with French soldiers, thus making clear his designs upon the Netherlands. Then, he tried to secure for France the exclusive profits of trade with the Spanish dominions. Finally, on James II's death in 1701 Louis recognised the "Old Pretender" as James III of England. This was a violation of the treaty of Rhyswick. The last act was the one thing needed to make England go to war.

Events:—In Europe, the war was fought in Italy, Germany, the Netherlands and Spain. While England, Holland, Austria and Germany and later Portugal and Savoy were on one side, France, Spain and Bavaria were on the other. The war published the military genius of John Churchhill Duke of Marlborough, whose famous victory at Blenheim not only saved Vienna, which was hard pressed at the time, but also Germany. The battle "destroyed the impression of French invincibility on land and re-established England's military prestige." The same year the English fleet captured Gibraltar, 'the key of the Mediterranean.' In the Netherlands, Marlborough won the battle of Ramillies. The French were driven out

of Italy. In Spain, Barcelona was captured and Madrid was occupied. At this juncture Louis made overtures for peace, which the allies rejected. The year 1707 was a year of British reverses. The forces under Galway were defeated at Almanza in Spain. But Marlborough's third great victory at Oudenarde and the capture of Lille destroyed French sway in the Netherlands. Meanwhile, Minorca was captured. Then came the capture of Mons and the last great victory of Marlborough at Malplaquet.

Events in America :—There was an echo of the war also in America. The central colonies were hardly affected. South Carolina and New England, the one bordering on Spanish Florida and the other being close to New France were directly concerned in the war. There were attacks and counter attacks. "For Massachussetts the history of the war is but a catalogue of misery." A French expedition to reduce New England failed. The English colonists under the leadership of Massachussetts were successful in their expedition against Acadia (1710). Port Royal surrendered. It was re-christened Annapolis in honour of Queen Anne. Elated with the success in Acadia they prepared for a grand combination against Quebec and Montreal. A storm wrecked eight ships and the expedition proved a failure.

The Treaty of Utrecht :—The Tory Ministry in England opened negotiations for peace. The Treaty of Utrecht was concluded in 1713. Spain and the New World went to Philip. He was excluded from the French throne. Italy and the Netherlands were given to the

Archduke Charles. The barrier fortresses were left in the keeping of the Dutch. With regard to England, the French king pledged himself to accept the Hanoverian succession. In America, Hudson Bay, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, were ceded to Great Britain. In Europe, she obtained from Spain Gibraltar and Minorca, two valuable possessions in the Mediterranean. The monopoly of the slave trade with the Spanish colonies and the right to send one ship a year to Port Bello were also conceded to Britain. The Treaty is a landmark in the history of the Empire. "Great Britain had made very important additions to her Empire; and there is some truth, if also some exaggeration, in the verdict of an historian that, if at the Armada, England entered the race for colonial expansion, she won it at the Treaty of Utrecht."

C. The War of Jenkins' Ear and the Austrian Succession War 1739-48.

Causes:—The Treaty of Utrecht ushered in a period of peace. It admitted England's right to send one ship a year to Port Bello, and wrested from Spain two of her valuable possessions in the Mediterranean. The Treaty, therefore, did not give satisfaction to Spain. In 1725 an unsuccessful attempt was made by her to recover Gibraltar and Minorca. The illicit trade carried on by England under cover of legal commerce, according to the terms of the treaty, still more offended the Spaniards, who began to search British ships bound for Spanish

America. The English officers and sailors were brutally handled. Popular feeling in England ran high. Walpole who was prime minister desired peace above all things. The brutality of the Spaniards gave a handle to the opposition and the production of Captain Jenkins' ear, alleged to have been cut off by the Spaniards, fanned the flame of national indignation. Asked what his feelings were at the time his ear was cut off, Jenkins answered before the bar of the House of Commons, "I commended my soul to God and my cause to my country." The words produced the desired effect. Walpole was forced to declare war in 1739 much against his will. The following year it became merged in the greater conflict known as the War of the Austrian Succession.

The Austrian Succession War:—The Emperor of Austria had only a daughter Maria Theresa. Before his death in 1740, he got the European powers to accept the Pragmatic Sanction by which Maria Theresa was to succeed him. Soon however the Elector of Bavaria supported by the French king disputed the claim of Maria Theresa. At the same time Frederick II of Prussia availed the opportunity to capture Silesia, a province of Austria. England backed Maria Theresa. The war led to the downfall of Walpole. The victory at Dettingen compelled the French to evacuate Germany. The French army invaded the Netherlands and defeated the British troops at Fontenoy. The same year the Jacobite rebellion of '45 forced Britain to withdraw her troops from the Continent.

Events in America and India:—In America an expedition against Louisberg, a port of Cape Breton Island and "the key of the St. Lawrence," was planned and carried out in 1745. The capitulation of Louisberg encouraged the idea of the conquest of Canada. The expected aid from the mother country was not forthcoming, and the march to Montreal had consequently to be abandoned. Meanwhile the French surprised Massachussetts and ravaged Saratoga. In India, they took Madras. The Nawab of Arcot interceded on behalf of the English. The defeat of his forces revealed the weakness of the Asiatic Army.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle 1748:—The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle brought the war to a close. The conquests were exchanged. It made no mention of the original cause of war with Spain viz. the right to search British vessels. "The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle left the great causes of difference, the undefined limits of the French and English claims in America, still unsettled."

CHAPTER III.

The second stage: The Seven Years' War. 1756-1763.

"France and England were early competitors in the American seas. Differences of religion increased their animosity. They were rivals in the Old World and rivals in the New; rivals in the East and rivals in the West; rivals in America and rivals in Europe; rivals in politics, in commerce, and the arts; rivals in ambition for conquest and supremacy." Historians' History of the World.

Causes:—We have now reached the stage of direct conflict for territorial sovereignty between England and France in America and elsewhere. The Seven Years' War was waged in Europe, America, India and Africa. In Europe, it was fought for the recovery of Silesia from Prussia on which Maria Theresa had set her heart. France and England ranged themselves in opposite camps. Prussia courted English alliance and the Anglo-Prussian alliance forced France and Russia into the arms of Austria.

In America it was a contest for supremacy between England and France. The English colonies in North America extended along the Atlantic coast as far as Nova

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Scotia in the north and the Spanish province of Florida in the south. The Alleghaney Mountains formed the western boundary. Besides, England had Newfoundland and territories round Hudson Bay. "France was mistress alike of the great waterways of the St. Lawrence in the north and the Mississippi in the south and of the vast hinterland lying between Montreal and Orleans." In other words, the French claimed all that lay west of what belonged to England. Such a claim closed the doors of English expansion and was consequently resisted. To connect Canada with Louisiana by a chain of fortresses was "the supreme object of French military policy." Their design was partially carried out by the middle of the eighteenth century. Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Frontinac, Niagara and Fort Duquesne were completed. When the last-named fortress was building at the 'Forks' in 1754, an un-successful attempt was made by Washington to capture it. "Hitherto, the inter-colonial wars had originated in European quarrels; now, the causes of dispute existed in the colonies themselves and were derivable from the growing importance of these American possessions to the mother-countries." A union for the mutual protection of the colonies was now proposed in 1754. A congress met at Albany but effected nothing. A second expedition under Braddock was sent against Fort Duquesne, which suffered the same fate as its predecessor. A detachment was sent against Nova Scotia which was easily occupied. The Acadians being French in origin

were deported wholesale. "A sadder incident" says the Historians' History, "of wholesale outrage hardly occurs in history than this." The attack on Niagara ended in failure. The defeat of the English encouraged the Indians to ravage the English borders. Lastly, there were disputes as regards the boundary of Acadia. The colonial rivalry between England and France set them in opposite camps and led to open hostilities.

Causes for the War in India:—In India the commercial and territorial ambitions of the rival companies resulted in violent collision. The French settlements of Mahe, Karikkal, Pondicherry and Chandranagore were close to English trading stations. What was more, the state of anarchy following the disruption of the Mughal Empire and the mutual jealousy of the native states gave ample scope for European interference. In the internecine wars France and England took opposite sides. It was in one such struggle that Robert Clive besieged Arcot (1751) in aid of Muhammad Ali against the French candidate Chanda Sahib. Each was watching for an opportunity to oust the other.

European aspect of the War:—"The first period of the war 1756-57 is an epoch of hesitating councils, of timid and incompetent commanders, of administrative incapacity and desultory policy of alternations between blind fury and blind alarm." The Duke of Cumberland was defeated in Germany, while Admiral Byng, who was despatched to relieve Minorca, which was

stormed by the French, returned home after an indecisive action with the French fleet. The second period of the war, on the other hand, stands in marked contrast to the first. William Pitt was the chief minister at the time. He was looked upon as the only man capable of conducting the war to a successful termination. He is said to have expressed, "I believe I can save the country and that no one else can." "He had not only the genius of conceiving great and sound strategical designs, but also the capacity, with infinite patience and thoroughness, to plan their execution." "We shall win Canada, "he said," on the banks of the Elbe." He subsidised Frederick of Prussia, kept an army in Germany under Ferdinand of Brunswick and devoted his attention and energy mainly to the colonial struggle. The victory of Minden secured Hanover and the naval victories off Lagos and Quiberon Bay destroyed the French fleet and put an end to the threatened French invasion. In 1761 Belleisle off the west coast of France was captured. At this stage disagreement in the Cabinet forced Pitt to resign.

American War:—In America, during the first years of the war the French General Montcalm captured Oswego and Fort William Henry. The English attack on Louisberg was unsuccessful. In the following year three simultaneous expeditions against Louisberg, Ticonderoga and Fort Duquesne were designed. Louisberg, Cape Breton and Prince Edward Islands, Forts Oswego, Frontenac and Duquesne were taken. A grand

combination for the conquest of Canada was arranged in 1759. The plan of campaign was a converging attack on Quebec. Forts Ticonderoga aud Niagara were captured. Wolfe sailed up the St. Lawrence to attack Quebec with the aid of a fleet. The siege was laid and the battle on the Heights of Abraham decided the future of Canada. Quebec was captured and the Generals on both sides lay dead. The same year the island of Guadeloupe was taken. The capitulation of Montreal followed in 1760. At this stage Spain declared war when her treasure ships were safely harboured. The campaign of 1762 ended in the capture of Havanna, Manilla, Martinique, St. Vincent and Dominica.

Events in India:—"Great as this time was in its results upon the fortunes of the English in America, it was almost as fruitful in India." The treaty of Aix-a-chapelle did not call a halt to fighting in India. The disputed succession to both Hyderabad and the Carnatic was the occasion for the interference of the English as well as the French in Indian politics. At Hyderabad Muzaffar Jang disputed the succession of Nasir Jang, while in the Carnatic Chanda Sahib questioned the legality of Anwaruddin's title to be Nawab. Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib appealed to Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, for help. With the aid of a French force Anwaruddin was defeated at Ambur in 1749. Meanwhile Nasir Jang was killed and Muzaffar Jang became Nizam and rewarded the French with the cession of the Northern Circars.

Chanda Sahib now besieged his enemy's son Muhammad Ali who had taken shelter at Trichinopoly. At this stage, Clive advised the Madras Governor to send a detachment to capture Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. Clive was despatched with a small army. He took Arcot without difficulty. Its defence had been neglected by Chanda Sahib, who on hearing the news of the fall of his capital sent his son Raja Sahib to retake it. Clive bravely stood the siege and in the end Raja Sahib was obliged to abandon it. The hero of Arcot pursued his enemy and defeated him. Now Chanda Sahib abandoned the siege of Trichinopoly. Muhammad Ali, the English candidate, was proclaimed Nawab. On Muzaffar Jang's death Salabat Jang succeeded him; still French influence was supreme in the court of the Nizam.

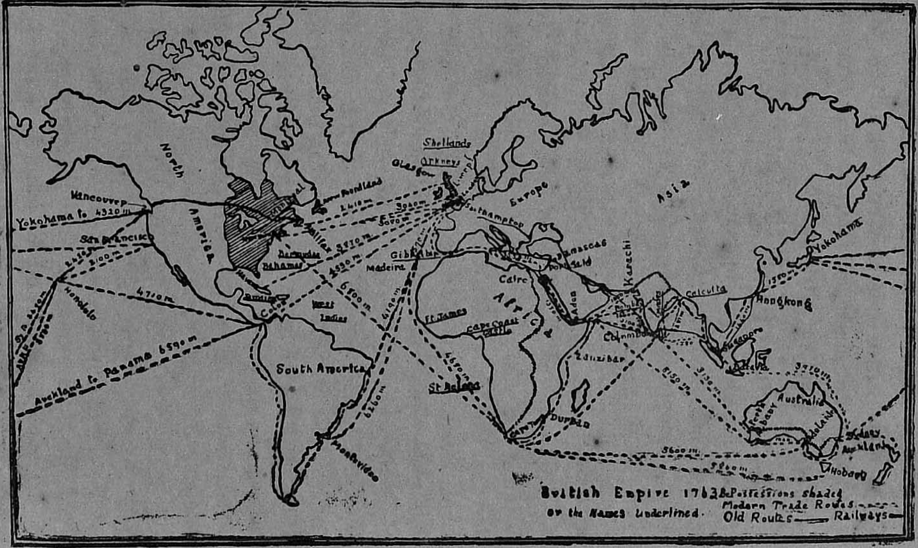
Close upon the Carnatic war the events in Bengal demanded English interference. Siraj-ud-Daula was defeated at Plassey (1757). The victory established British ascendency in Bengal and was followed by the capture of Chandranagore by Clive. The French took Fort St. David, but had to abandon the siege of Madras. In the year of victories 1759, Masulipatam fell into English hands. The victory of Wandewash, 1760, followed by the capture of Pondicherry and Mahe destroyed French power in India and led to their expulsion from the Northern Circars. "France produced great empire builders in Montcalm and Dupleix, peers of Wolfe and Clive; but she produced no Pitt, not even a Walpole."

In Africa:—In Africa, the British expedition to

Senegal and Goree on the west coast resulted in their capture. The British triumphed everywhere. Negotiations were opened for peace and the war was brought to a close by the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

The Treaty of Paris:—According to the Treaty, France surrendered to England—saving certain fishing rights in Newfoundland—Canada, the islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and all the territory east of the Mississippi with the exception of New Orleans. From Spain England obtained Florida in exchange for Manilla. In the West Indies she got Tobago, St. Vincent and Dominica. In the Mediterranean she retained Minorcal In India she was confirmed in the possession of the Northern Circars. To France she had to restore St. Lucia, Martinique, Guedalope, Belleisle, Goree, as well as Pondicherry and other trading stations in India captured during the war. To Spain she returned Havanna. "The gains of England were nearly measured by the losses of France. The one nation that gained in this war was that which used the sea in peace to earn its wealth, and ruled it in war by the extent of its navy, by the number of its subjects who lived on the sea or by the sea, and by its numerous bases of operation scattered over the globe." The Seven Years' War removed French competition in America and India. Henceforward there was no question as to which race was to be dominant on the North American continent. The long struggle ended in the defeat of the Latin and the triumph of the Teutonic folk."

BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1763.



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CHAPTER IV.

The Third Stage: The American Revolt.

"The American Revolution was no unrelated event, but formed a part of the history of the British race on both continents, and was not without influence on the history of mankind." Mellen Chamberlain.

"Secure from foreign attack, conscious in a growing degree of their strength, conscious in a growing degree of the restrictions which their British allegiance at the time involved, having, in the case of New England at any rate, been cradled in independence, founded by the desire to be out of England, differing from the English at home in social and political conditions, they (the Americans) were essentially at a stage in their history to be handled with wise and sympathetic statesmanship."

Charles Lucas.

The Circumstances that led to the declaration of independence.

1. **The Temper of the Colonists**:—It was in search of liberty that the settlers in America had left the country of their birth for new homes in foreign land. Most of them especially the New England colonists were dominated by the democratic spirit. The proposal for a union among them in 1754 fell through because they fondly clung to their independence and were averse to

anything that might clip their freedom. They were impatient of control and jealous of interference. In dealing with the colonies Englishmen betrayed a lack of sympathy and gross ignorance of colonial temper. But so far as their government was concerned the colonists had no cause for complaint. "Not the mother country, not any European state, enjoyed so full a measure of self-government, institutions so elastic, freedom of enterprise, of thought and of religion so unfettered."

Restrictions on Trade:—The grievances of the Americans were not political but commercial. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries England was pursuing the mercantile policy. In the matter of trade, the colonies were regarded as 'possessions' to be exploited for the benefit of the mother country. The export of the chief colonial products such as tobacco, cotton and sugar, to markets other than those of great Britain was prohibited. The manufacture of those articles, such as steel and woollen goods, which would have entered into competition with English goods, was disallowed. The colonies were moreover subject to the Navigation Acts. Goods could be imported and exported only in vessels belonging to the mother country or the daughter colonies; and those from Europe had in the first instance to be landed in Great Britain. In return the colonial products received preferential treatment in the mother country. The importation into England of foreign sugar, tobacco and pig-iron was discouraged by means of prohibitive duties. The object was to secure the English market for

American products. But "a system, which cramped the trade and industry of a self-reliant people, growing in wealth and intent on gain, for the benefit of a country separated by three thousand miles of ocean, was bound sooner or later to lead to revolt."

3. **Conquest of Canada** :—The Americans put up with the restrictions on their trade because they were dependent on English help against the French. It was the fear of French aggression that kept them loyal. The history of the United States began with the capture of Quebec. With the expulsion of the French from Canada and the Ohio Valley vanished the need for submission to the mother country. "The colonists had no sufficient reservoir of stored up regard or affection for the old country to counteract the strong tendency to separation."

4. **The Stamp Act**:—The Americans had no great grievance so long as the trade regulations were not strictly enforced. The restrictions were evaded by smuggling and naturally enough the attempt of Grenville to suppress it was strongly resented. Grenville found the necessity for a standing army to defend the colonies against the Indians. England was overburdened with debt. The taxation was already heavy. Therefore he suggested that the colonies should contribute a certain sum towards the upkeep of the army. The amount was to be collected by means of stamp duties. The Stamp Act was passed in 1765 with the object of raising a revenue. It required all legal documents to bear stamps. Parliament had no

far legislated in commercial matters. Here was a departure. For the first time an internal tax was levied for the purpose of revenue. The colonists set up the cry, 'no taxation without representation.' Agitation led to riots. Even British statesmen like Burke and Pitt considered the Act illegal. Rockingham, Grenville's successor in office, repealed it. But at the same time a 'Declaratory Act' was passed affirming the right of Parliament to legislate for the colonies. Though the Bill safeguarded England's prestige, it kept alive in the Americans the feelings of suspicion and irritation.

5. **The Irritating Measures of Townshend:**—To make matters worse, Townshend carried through Parliament, during the illness of his chief William Pitt, a Bill for raising revenue by means of duties on glass, tea and paper imported into America. The Legislative Assembly of New York was suspended. Massachussetts led the agitation and Lord North's ministry yielded. The duties on all the articles except tea were abolished.

6. **The Boston Affair:**—The Americans openly set the customs at nought. They were made bold by the half-measures of the British Government. "Between a frank surrender and a vigorous and consistent policy there should have been no middle way. It was a policy of drift tempered by royal obstinacy which ended in the Declaration of Independence." When the ships loaded with tea entered Boston harbour, 'the storm which had been gathering for so many years suddenly burst.' A

number of men disguised themselves, went on board the ships and emptied their contents into the sea. Acts were soon passed suspending the constitution of Massachussetts and closing the Boston harbour. The other colonies rallied round Massachussetts. A congress of representatives from all except Georgia met in 1776 at Philadelphia. At this juncture Lord North tried conciliation. It was rather late. The Americans declared their independence.

Course of the War:—England under-rated her enemy and made inadequate preparations. War began in 1775 when the English army marching to Boston was attacked and repulsed at Lexington. The victorious Americans soon blockaded Boston. The British troops captured the position occupied by the Americans at Bunker's Hill. At this stage, the Congress at Philadelphia assumed the position of supreme authority in America and issued the famous Declaration of Independence of July 4th, 1776. George Washington was appointed to the supreme command of the army. Meanwhile, an attack on Canada failed. But Boston was evacuated by the British troops. The first battle at Brooklyn fought after the Declaration of Independence was a defeat for Washington. The campaign was conducted on the side of the English by Sir William Howe. New York was occupied by the British troops. Washington's night attack on Trenton was successful. Meanwhile General Burgoyne led an army southwards from Canada in order to join Howe. At Saratoga (1777) he was met by the American

army and overthrown. The surrender of the town followed. Howe however defeated Washington at Brandywine and occupied Philadelphia.

France now availed the opportunity of retaliating for the loss of Canada. In the following year 1779, Spain took up arms against Britain. England demanded the right to search neutral ships for enemy's goods. Disputes arose as to the definition of "contraband of war." Holland, Russia, Prussia, Denmark and Sweden formed an Armed Neutrality and England had to face a coalition of half Europe. The operations extended to the West Indies and to India. In 1778 the Americans captured Philadelphia. The British troops under Cornwallis captured Charles town, the capital of South Carolina, and won a victory at Camden. The surrender of York Town which followed in 1781 ended the war. "The navy had the casting vote in the contest." The French navy co-operated with the colonies and brought about the overthrow of Cornwallis.

Events elsewhere:—Everywhere the English were hard-pressed. In India Hyder Ali invaded the Carnatic. Minorca was taken by the French in 1782. Gibraltar was besieged by Spain. Excepting Barbados and Jamaica all the West Indian Islands were lost. But success attended English arms in Europe. Gibraltar was saved and the French fleet was defeated by Rodney off Dominique in the West Indies.

The Treaty of Versailles:—A provisional treaty was signed in 1782 recognising American independence. The formal Treaty of Versailles followed in 1783. France restored all her conquests in the West Indies except Tobago. She got back Goree in West Africa and Pondicherry, Chandranagore, Mahe and other stations, in India. To Spain England had to yield Minorca.

Results:—The loss of one empire strengthened another; for those who were loyal to Great Britain emigrated in large numbers to Canada where they strengthened English hands. The American Revolt caused a change in England's colonial policy. But the far-reaching result of the American War was the lesson it afforded to the French revolutionaries. The American Revolution also gave rise to a new doctrine known as the "Ripe Fruit Theory." The colonies came to be looked upon as ripe fruits which fall from the tree. This new idea that the colonies after a stage of development would naturally sever their connection with the mother country obsessed Englishmen down to the middle of the 19th century. Consequently the colonies were regarded with distrust though the American revolt means no more than that, where colonists are considered merely as producers and consumers not as equal partners in the empire, they are likely to drop away. The analogy of the ripe fruit must not be pressed farther. The loss of the American colonies was followed by the colonisation of Australia and the expansion of British trade and commerce. England was

without an outlet for her convicts and Australia supplied the deficiency. "It was one of the most remarkable and singular experiments in the science of politics that the world has ever seen, for a people to lose an empire—thirteen provinces and to gain by that loss an increase of wealth, felicity and power." The Treaty of Versailles closed the first chapter of English expansion in America.

CHAPTER V.

The Last Stage.

The Revolutionary and the Napoleonic wars.

"The French Revolution was an attempt to establish in the public law of Europe maxims which had triumphed by the aid of France in America." Lord Acton.

Causes for the French Revolution:—The French government was arbitrary. The king was absolute. The States-General had not been summoned since 1614. The people had no voice in the administration. Besides, there were privileged classes in the country. Though the nobles did not enjoy political power they were exempt from direct taxes. The higher offices in the army and the navy, in the Church and about the king's person, were reserved for the nobles, whose social exclusiveness alienated the sympathies of the wealthy and intelligent middle classes. The system of taxation was unfair and the tax collectors were corrupt. The peasants who lived in the country and cultivated the soil were oppressed by taxation. Socially, too, they were not free. They lost their love for the absentee land-lords and came to look upon them as legalised robbers. The grievances were not only political but also religious. The Church owned one-fifth of the lands in the country. The church lands were

exempt from taxation. In addition it collected tithes from the people. The bishops neglected their duties. They were worldly and enjoyed the luxury of the royal court at Versailles. The lower clergy were miserably paid and had to bear the brunt of the work. The administration of justice was not above criticism. What with Louis XIV's long dreary wars and the extravagance of the court the treasury was empty. "The generalisation that money is the root of all revolution has the defect of its simplicity; but among the varied influences which provoked the French Revolution vicious finance takes the first place." Moreover, the philosophers Voltaire and Rousseau stimulated the reforming zeal. They promulgated ideas of reason, equality, fraternity and liberty. Lastly, the American Revolution profoundly influenced France. "Many French nobles served in the American war and came home republicans and even democrats by conviction." It is, therefore, not surprising that the French should seek at home what they were helping to thrive elsewhere.

Course of the Revolution:—Events moved quickly soon after the States-General was summoned in 1789. The meeting of that body was the beginning of the French Revolution. For on former occasions it had voted in three estates. It now insisted upon sitting together and declared itself the National Assembly. The abuses in Church and State were removed and a Limited Monarchy was set up. Freedom in civil and religious matters was established. The Parisian mob stormed the Bastile, the

great fortress in the capital, and brought the king from Versailles to Paris. The king fled, but was captured and brought back. In the following year the mob stormed the Tuilleries where Louis XVI lived. A new assembly called the Convention met and declared France a Republic. The king was tried, condemned to death and executed in 1793.

A. The Revolutionary War.

Causes:—The final stage of the Anglo-French rivalry was reached with the outbreak of the Revolutionary war. The French announced their readiness to support national risings for freedom. It was an incitement to rebellion. Secondly, the French designs upon the Austrian Netherlands and Holland compelled England to go to war. Thirdly, the navigation of the Scheldt which was guaranteed by treaty to Holland was declared open. Lastly, the execution of Louis XVI roused English sympathy. It was an "insult and a menace to any crowned head in Europe" and war followed immediately.

The Great Coalition consisting of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Holland, Spain and Sardinia was formed (1793.) The scene of warfare was Belgium. The war naturally falls into two divisions:—(1) The French attacks on Great Britain, (2) The British attacks on France.

1. French attacks on Great Britain:—France aimed at the invasion of England and Ireland. The success of the project necessarily depended upon the command of the sea. Lord Howe's victory in 1794 re-established English supremacy at sea. In

the following year the fleets of the United Provinces and Spain were at the disposal of France. Thus strengthened she made three successive attempts to invade Great Britain and Ireland. In the first case the fleet was destroyed by storm (1796). Only a few ships entered Bantry Bay, but produced no effect. In the following year a grand combination of the French, Dutch and Spanish fleets was planned. It was however frustrated by the victory of Nelson and Jervis off Cape St. Vincent over the Spanish fleet and by the defeat of the Dutch fleet at Camperdown. The third attempt also failed. Though a small force landed in Ireland it had to withdraw without accomplishing its purpose.

The British naval supremacy not only saved Great Britain, but also preserved her outlying possessions from attack. At the opening of the war France had recovered St. Lucia and Martinique. In addition to these two islands Great Britain captured all the West Indian possessions of France and her allies. In the East greater success attended British arms. The victories of Wellesley in India saved the situation. For the hidden object of Bounaparte's Egyptian expedition was to drive the English out of India. But the victory of Nelson at Aboukir Bay 1798 and of Abercomby at Alexandria (1801) foiled Napoleon's plan. The next move of France was to form a coalition of the northern powers against England. The Armed Neutrality of Russia, Sweeden and Denmark which for a time threatened England's safety, was however broken up by Nelson's victory at Copenhagen.

2. British Attacks on France: –The fight between Great Britain and France has been described as a contest between the whale and the elephant, each being supreme in its own element. While Great Britain failed on land, her naval operations were invariably successful. Between 1793 and 1795 she despatched three expeditions, two of which had for their object the support of Royalist insurrections at Toulon and Quiberon Bay. It is needless to say that both ended in a fiasco. The third expedition under the Duke of York was directed towards Dunkirk. The siege was raised and in the following year the Duke was forced to evacuate Belgium and Holland. At this stage, Holland and Spain withdrew from the Coalition. Prussia followed their example. Napoleon's famous campaign in Italy compelled the king of Sardinia to retire. The Austrians were defeated in a succession of battles and when Napoleon threatened Vienna, they sued for peace. Thus England was isolated. The battle of the Nile and the failure of Napoleon's Egyptian campaign encouraged the formation of the Second Coalition, consisting of Great Britain, Austria and Russia. The French were driven from Italy. Minorca and Malta were captured. Acre was successfully defended against the French. But with the change that took place in 1799 in the internal constitution of France fortune began to smile on her. Napoleon became the First Consul and restored order at home. He crossed the Alps and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Austrians at Marengo. A second victory at Hohenlinden brought Austria to

terms. The Second Coalition ended with the defection of Russia. Now the British claim to search ships belonging to neutral powers was resented by them and resulted in the armed neutrality of Russia, Denmark and Sweeden. The death of the Czar and the defeat of the Dutch at Copenhagen broke up the combination. The war was brought to a close by the Treaty of Amiens in 1802. According to the provisions of the Treaty, Great Britain restored all her conquests except Ceylon and Trinidad. France kept Belgium and the Rhine frontier. The Peace of Amiens has no place along with the Treaties of Utrecht and Paris.

B. The Napoleonic War. 1803-1815.

"It is well to remember that the struggle between Napoleon and Great Britain was not by any means a struggle between a ruthless oppressor and a nation whose hands were entirely clean of oppression. All round the world there were evidences of British land hunger."

Historians' History of the World.

Causes:—"The ink was scarcely dry on the Treaty of Amiens when fresh causes of discord sprang up between France and Great Britain." Napoleon's ambition and military aggression led to war. He seized Piedmont and Elba. Switzerland was occupied; Holland was annexed. He picked up a quarrel with the English by demanding the expulsion of the Bourbon Princes from England and complained that she retained Malta contrary to the terms of the Treaty of Amiens.

Napoleon's attempts to injure Britain :—The first years of the war were taken up with Napoleon's plan for an invasion of England. He collected an army at Boulogne and watched for an opportunity to evade the English fleet. To distract English attention he tried to create discord within the Empire. But his attempts failed both in India and Ireland. The vigilance of the British fleet, the defeat of the French and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar (1805) and the formation of the Third Coalition composed of England, Russia, Austria, and Sweeden, obliged Napoleon to give up his plan. At the same time the defeat of the Austrians at Austerlitz, of the Prussians at Jena, and the Russians at Friedland left Great Britain alone to prosecute the war. Napoleon's next move was to ruin English commerce by excluding from France and her allies goods manufactured in England or carried in British vessels. Hence he decreed from Berlin (1806) that the British Isles were in a state of blockade. Consequently trade in British goods was prohibited and British vessels or those of her colonies were excluded from the ports of France and her allies. Even ships belonging to neutral countries but touching British ports were declared liable to be captured. Austria, Prussia, Russia and all other countries under French influence subscribed to the "Continental System." England took up the challenge and issued the "Orders in Council" whereby the ports of France and her allies were declared to be in a state of strict blockade. All ships entering or leaving them were to be considered lawful prizes

of war, unless they could prove that since leaving their native shores they had touched a British port. The "Continental System" was a failure. The French islands in the West Indies and Mauritius were captured. The settlements of the Dutch in the East fell into English hands and the Danish fleet was seized.

The Peninsular War 1807—1815:—Napoleon's high-handed action in occupying Portugal and his interference in the affairs of Spain roused national opposition. Great Britain backed up their cause and for seven years held the field against Napoleon. The Spaniards defeated the French at Baylen (1808). Joseph Buonaparte was deposed. With the defeat of the French at Vimero, Sir Arthur Wellesley's compaigns in the Peninsula began. According to the convention of Cintra, Portugal was evacuated by the French forces. Napoleon himself marched with an army to Spain and without difficulty occupied Madrid. Sir John Moore, commander of the British forces in the Peninsula, defeated the French under Soult. Napoleon hastened to Austria, where trouble had arisen and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Austrians at Wagram. The diversion of French attention was availed by Wellesley, who succeeded Sir John Moore, to defeat Joseph at Talavera (1809). Napoleon again poured his army into Spain. Wellington drew up his troops in two lines known as "the lines of Torres Vedras". The French under Massena invaded Portugal. An engagement took place at Bussaco, between Massena and Wellington in which the latter

emerged triumphant. In the following year he gained another victory over the French at Fontes-de-Onoro. His success at Albuera strengthened still further his position in Portugal. Meanwhile, Russia was adversely affected by the Continental System and abandoned it in 1812. Napoleon determined upon an invasion of Russia. "History has few greater tragedies to record than the fate of Napoleon's expedition." Though he occupied the deserted Capital, "the Grand Army" perished in the Russian winter. The withdrawal of the best French troops from Spain for the Russian campaign enabled Wellington to assume the offensive. He took the border fortresses, defeated the French at Salamanca and entered Madrid. He was however obliged to retreat soon. Now came the revolt in Germany. The Fourth Coalition consisting of Russia, Prussia, Sweeden, Great Britain and Austria was formed. Napoleon met with disaster at the battle of Leipzig. His campaigns in Germany necessitated the withdrawal of a portion of his army in Spain. Wellington thereupon invaded Spain and defeated Joseph at Vittoria. He gained two more victories over Soult. Meanwhile, the Allies had invaded France and occupied Paris. Napoleon abdicated and was made the ruler of Elba, an island in the Mediterranean. Louis XVIII was proclaimed king. A congress met at Vienna. It had not concluded its sittings before Napoleon returned to Paris and was acclaimed Emperor. The Allies decided upon an invasion of France but Nopoleon forestalled them. At Ligny the Prussians were defeated.

The next engagement at Quatre Bras was indecisive. Last came the famous battle of Waterloo in which Napoleon was overthrown.

The United States and the War (1812-1814) :—The "Continental System" and the "Orders in Council" hindered neutral trade. Neutral ships must either touch the ports of France and her allies or those of Great Britain. Either way they were liable to be seized. Great Britain claimed the right to search American merchant vessels for British deserters. She deprived them of British sailors, who had taken service under the American flag, without regard to the safety of those vessels. Once even a man-of-war was not spared. This was resented by the Americans and led to the outbreak of war in 1812. The Orders in Council were withdrawn; but it was late. The American invasion of Canada ended in failure. The Canadians co-operated with the British army in resisting the attacks of the Americans. But in fights between single ships the American frigates were invariably successful. Napoleon's abdication enabled Great Britain to send her best soldiers to America. Washington was sacked. The public buildings were burnt. An attack on New Orleans however failed. The war was ended by the Treaty of Ghent (1814). "I doubt if ever before a nation gained so much honour, by a few single ship duels; for there can be no question which side came out of the war with the greatest credit. The damage inflicted by each on the other was not very equal in amount, but the balance was certainly in favour of the United States."

BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1815

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The Treaty of Paris:—The Treaty of Paris brought the long war to a close. Great Britain obtained from France St. Lucia in the West Indies, Mauritius and Seychelles in the Indian ocean, Malta and the Ionian isles in the Mediterranean, Trinidad from Spain, Heligoland from Denmark, Ceylon, British Guiana and the Cape of Good Hope from Holland. The Treaty also made territorial adjustments in Europe and settled the boundaries of nations. The Treaty of Paris is a great landmark in the history of the Empire. France was finally removed as a rival from the field of expansion and Great Britain was left undisputed mistress of the entire field with the verdict of centuries that in empire-building she has no equal.

CHAPTER VI.

Synopsis.

The Gains of England from the Wars of the Eighteenth Century.

"Most of the many colonies and dependencies acquired in this age were the fruits of war, were conquered or ceded by other European nations; we took toll from France and Spain, from Holland and Denmark." Charles Lucas.

"The results of the terrible wars of this century of fighting are what we now enjoy; a land secure from invasion; supremacy at sea; great wealth drawn from a world-wide trade; and a peaceful colonial empire which no other power can rival," John Hugh Roberts.

The eighteenth century is known as an age of Expansion by Conquest, because during this period England was engaged in no less than four great wars, all of which with the exception of two resulted in substantial additions to the Empire. It was mostly during this century that the Empire was built. If it be accepted that 'at the Armada England entered the race for colonial expansion' she seemed at no other time nearer reaching the winning post than when she signed the Treaty of Utrecht, which brought the War of the Spanish Succession to a close.

Newfoundland, Novascotia and Hudson Bay Territories were ceded by France to Great Britain. From Spain she obtained besides Gibraltar and Minorca in the Mediterranean, the exclusive monopoly of slave-trade with Spanish America.

The Treaty of Achen which ended the war of the Austrian Succession did not at all advance England's position. Entirely different was the Treaty of Paris (1763) which concluded the Seven Years' War and augmented British possessions. In America Great Britain gained Canada, the French territory east of the Mississippi, Cape Breton and other islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, besides Florida, which Spain surrendered in exchange for Havanna and Manilla. Her west Indian possessions were increased by the addition of Dominica, Grenada and Tobago. In Africa, she obtained the settlements on the river Senegal. In India, the East India Company was confirmed in the possession of the Northern Circars conquered by Col. Forde. The victory of Clive at Plassey laid the foundations of English ascendancy in Bengal.

The Treaty of Versailles which ended the war of American Independence not only deprived Great Britain of the thirteen colonies, the fruits of all her labours for over a century and a half, but forced her to yield Minorca and Florida to Spain, Tobago, St. Lucia, Senegal and Gorée to France. An empire was lost, but another was gained. The loss of America turned England's attention to Australia. In less than five years after the Treaty of Versailles the first band of settlers landed in Botany Bay.

The Peace of Amiens (1802) added Ceylon and Trinidad to the Empire. The conclusion of the Napoleonic war by the Treaty of Paris left England undisputed mistress of the seas and removed French competition from the race for colonial expansion. In Europe, she was confirmed in the possession of Malta which she retained contrary to the terms of the Treaty of Amiens. Besides, she got Heligoland and the protectorate of the Ionian Isles. Other additions were Mauritius, Seychelles, Trinidad, St. Lucia, the Cape of Good Hope and British Guiana.

In India, the second Mysore war had left things much as they were; but the Treaty of Seringapatam, which concluded the Third Mysore War, enlarged English territory by bringing Salem, Madura, Malabar and Coorg under the East India Company. The conclusion of the Fourth Mysore War brought Canara and Coimbatore. The Ceded Districts, the Doab and Orissa were acquired by the system of subsidiary treaties. The Carnatic and Tanjore were annexed. Bengal had already become a British province. The Maharatta power was broken and Great Britain became the suzerain power.

"Thus the Napoleonic War, originally undertaken in self-defence, confirmed and extended the maritime and colonial supremacy of Great Britain which had been first definitely secured in the Seven Years' War." All the wars of the century were waged by Great Britain to preserve and extend her dominions. At the end of the Sixteenth century England entered the race for colonial

expansion. Her formidable rival was Spain whom she easily outstripped and wrested from her the sceptre of the seas. In the following century she had to contend with the Dutch. The last competitor was France and she too was at last overwhelmed. Great Britain had gained the winning post. A skilled builder, she had during these years of incessant fighting erected the vast edifice of empire, with its base spread all over the globe.

PART II.

The Nineteenth Century: Period of Consolidation.

INTRODUCTION.

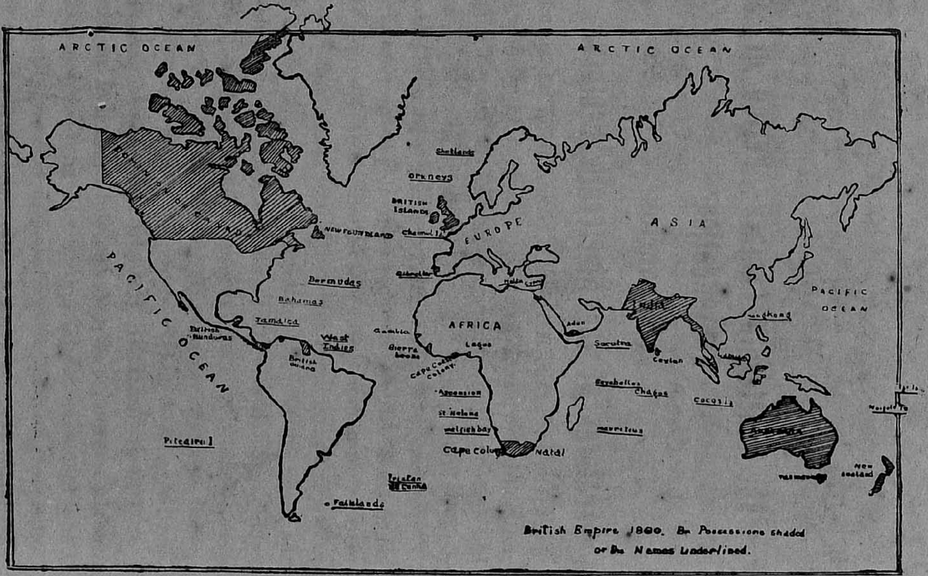
Features of the Nineteenth Century.

"The Industrial Revolution, commercial expansion, and political emancipation have affected in greater or less degree all the component parts of the United Kingdom" Pollard.

"After 1815, we enter upon a long period of peace. Since then, Britain has not been at war over empire-matters with any European nation. The Empire has grown to an enormous extent, but its expansion has been the result of peaceful enterprise due to the efforts of explorer, merchant and emigrant; and its conquests have been won by science, invention and better laws. The period well deserves the title of the Century of Freedom and Progress." J. H. Roberts.

The Industrial Revolution:—The sixteenth century was an age of discovery and a period of preparation; the seventeenth century was an era of peaceful settlement; marked by the struggle between King and Parliament; the eighteenth century was remarkable for foreign wars and the growth of the Cabinet system; while

BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1880



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the nineteenth century was characterised by scientific progress and internal development. A series of economic changes which, consequent on the rapid development of science, transformed the industrial world, is what is commonly known as "the Industrial Revolution." The changes affected the methods of production and modes of transport and were attended with important social and political consequences.

Textile:—The wheel of revolution was set in motion by the mechanical inventions which introduced changes in textile processes. As early as 1738 John Kay invented the 'flying shuttle,' which made it possible for one weaver to do the work of two men. But spinning could not keep pace with weaving and Hargreaves invented the spinning 'Jenny,' which produced yarn more quickly and cheaply. Not long before Arkwright improved upon Hargreaves's invention by devising a process of spinning by rollers through water power. Later Crompton combined the operations of the spinning 'Jenny' and the 'water-power' in his machine called 'Mule.' Finally, Cartwright devised the 'power-loom' which increased the output of weaving and at the same time cheapened the cost of production.

Coal and Iron:—The new machinery created a fresh demand for iron. The use of coal in place of charcoal for smelting iron-ore led to the development of iron industry. The vast resources of the British coalfields could thus be turned to good account. The invention of the 'safety lamp' by Humphrey Davy for the use of

miners increased the output of coal, and enlarged the scope and application of steam power.

Means of Communication:— Not the least noteworthy feature of the revolution was the development in the means of communication accompanying the increased transport of large quantities of raw materials and finished products. Brindleys' canals, the roads of Macadam, the locomotive and the railway of Stephenson, were successively devised between 1760 and 1840 to meet the requirements of the changed times. The development of steam navigation, the tramways, the postal system, the telegraph, the telephone, and the recent wireless invention of Marconi revolutionised the entire field of transport and communication. Lastly, the increased facilities for communication and the application of steam and electricity for printing led to the growth of the modern newspaper which is a vital force in modern public life.

The Agrarian Revolution:—Side by side with the Industrial Revolution, there took place, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, a revolution in the methods of cultivation. Formerly, the system of cultivation was the 'open field.' The lands after being two years under crop lay fallow for a year. Besides, there were large numbers of small farms. Now, the open field system yielded place to enclosures, and large farms replaced small holdings. The small farmers thus dispossessed went to swell the growing class of labourers in manufacturing and mining centres. The scientific methods of breeding cattle, the use of improved tools, the selection of seeds, and the

adoption of new forms of manure were bound to produce an Agrarian Revolution with far reaching results.

Social Consequences of the Industrial Revolution:—These economic changes produced results of utmost consequence to society. The growth of population was, indeed remarkable. But the result of great import was not so much the increase of population as the shifting of its centre of gravity from the south to the north, from the country to the manufacturing towns as a result of the factory system which took the place of cottage industry. For the new inventions necessitated the concentration of labour in factories under a capitalist employer. The unwholesome and insanitary factories, where men, women and children were huddled together, without limit to hours of labour, were real evils which had to be remedied by Factory Regulations. The factory system was also responsible for the sharp division between the rural and industrial population and the conflict between the capitalist and the wage-earner.

Other Results:—The Industrial Revolution had other far reaching results. It roused the political consciousness of the people. It made England a great manufacturing nation, dependent for food and raw materials on foreign supply. This is not without its baneful effect, especially in times of war. The Industrial Revolution was followed by the rise of great industrial and mining towns, by the growth of wealth, and expansion of British trade and commerce. Its effect on the growth of the British Empire was immense and direct. Great

Britain had to find fresh markets for her goods. New chartered companies were established, to wit the British Borneo Company, the Royal Niger Company, the British East Africa Company and the British South Africa Company. Trade follows the flag and *vice versa*. The result of expansion of British trade was the addition of large territories to the Empire. The extension of the British Empire was the necessary concomittant of the growth of British trade and commerce. In the eighteenth century the Empire had been 'pegged out.' It was however in the period succeeding Waterloo that the territories came to be occupied. The colonies absorbed the rapidly growing surplus population of the mother-country. With the growth of population in the colonies, following the great tide of emigration, which set in during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the colonial problem began to loom large in the political horizon. Colonial history proper extends over the nineteenth century. "Commercial expansion had another result; the greatest cities of the Empire are now ports dependent on the sea for existence and on sea-borne trade and naval strength for their prosperity."

The Growth of Democracy:—The Industrial Revolution strengthened the forces of democracy and pushed to the fore-front the question of parliamentary reform. It created political unrest. The system of representation was defective. The qualification for votes was possession of landed property. The new elements of society, namely, the industrial and the working classes,

in fact, the vast majority of the people had no votes. The exclusion of the proletariate from political power led to popular demand for a change in the constitution of Parliament. Again, while several 'rotten boroughs' (towns which had dwindled in importance) returned two members apiece to Parliament, the new industrial and mining towns went unrepresented. Also, most of the boroughs, which were represented, were the private property of one lord or another. The need for parliamentary reform was urgent and had been forseen by William Pitt. But it was not without a struggle that the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed. It enlarged the electorate and abolished the rotten and pocket boroughs. The seats were re-arranged. "The effects of the 'Reform Act' of 1832 are usually summed up in the statement that it handed the country over to the rule of the middle class." It was the first step towards democracy, the government of the people, by the people, for the people.

The Reform Bills of 1867, 1884 and 1918:— The Act of 1832 did not go far and before long the question of reform began to engage the anxious attention of statesmen. The working classes, which had no franchise, were emancipated by the Representation of the People Act of 1867. Without secrecy in voting the boon conferred by the act was not of real value. The Ballot Act of 1872 allowed secret voting and facilitated the growth of democracy. Still the agricultural labourer had no vote. He had to wait till 1884 when the franchise was extended to him. Practically every man in England

became a voter. The woman, however, stood outside. The Act of 1918 enfranchised women and made England a land of universal suffrage. The same Act introduced the principle of proportional representation. "A general election is now a solemn appeal to a responsible people. The will of the majority of the electors is the driving force in English politics." In other words, the political sovereignty in the United Kingdom ultimately resides in the majority of the electorate.

Democratic and National Movements:—In Europe, as elsewhere, it was an era of popular movements. There was a growing desire on the part of the people for increased participation in the government of their country. Europe was in a ferment. Ideas of self-government took possession of the oppressed people and led to agitation and revolution. Side by side with the movement for self-government there was the growth of national consciousness. "People of the same race, speaking the same language, possessing common traditions or a common history have shown a passion to be united and to be freed from the control of alien rulers." This feeling was responsible for the independence of Belgium and Greece, the unification of Italy and of Germany and the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. The growth of independent nationalities has made European politics a complex problem. Mutual distrust and jealousy among the States resulted in political combinations. The '*Entente Cordiale*' between England France and Russia, had its counterpart in the alliance of Germany with Austria and Italy.

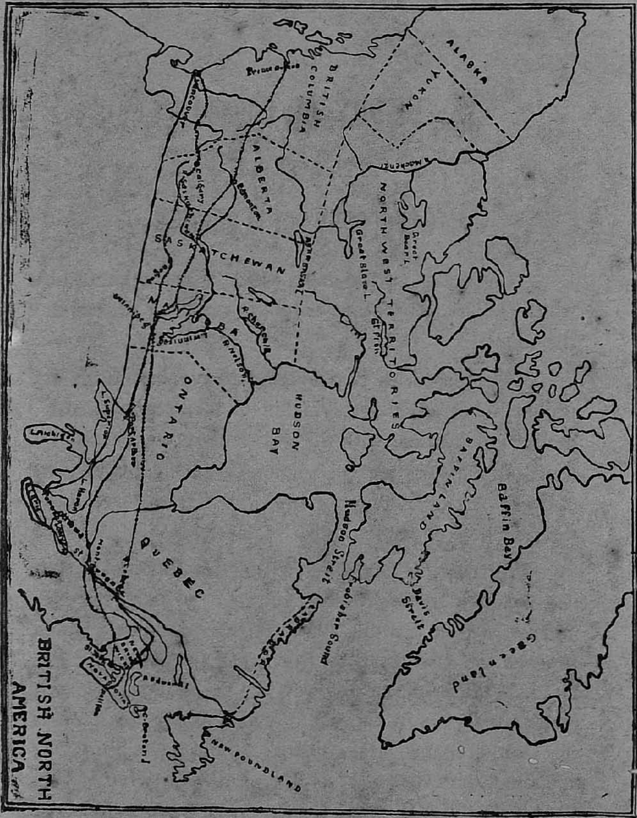
Internal Development of the Empire:—In the history of the Empire the nineteenth century is equally remarkable as a period of consolidation and comparative peace. Great Britain had emerged triumphant from the great contest for dominion. The dreary wars of the eighteenth century had exhausted Europe. After a storm comes a calm. The battle of Waterloo was immediately followed by a long period of peace. England, as we saw, was occupied with her own internal problems. Her energy and attention were for a time absorbed so much by her domestic questions that her eyes were turned away from her over-sea possessions. But the period of lull had its effect upon the colonies. The agitation for reform at home had not subsided before the colonial problem began to demand the best attention of statesmen. That problem was directly influenced by the same reform movement in England which had so long obscured it. "The political emancipation of the British people at home led naturally to the political emancipation of the British colonies." Self-government was granted to Canada. The success of the experiment made the mother country apply it in the case of Australia, New Zealand and Africa. The century was marked by rapid progress in the colonies. Population increased by leaps and bounds. The countries were explored. Their resources were developed. The colonies slowly evolved into nations. The century is therefore appropriately called a period of internal development of the Empire.

Expansion:—The growth of the Empire during

the century was marked by both state action and private enterprise. The administration of India was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown. The territories of the Hudson Bay Company were made over to the Canadian Government. At the same time new chartered companies arose and pushed the fortunes of the British race. The Empire was extended by peaceful means as well as by the sword, but the former predominated. The countries were explored and exploration was immediately followed by occupation. The growth of the Empire in the nineteenth century was mainly the result of expansion.

A Century of Freedom :—In every sense the nineteenth century was remarkable as a century of freedom, an age of freedom of communication, an era of free movements of population, of free press, free education, free people and free trade. The colonies became Self-governing dominions; slavery was abolished. Restrictions on trade were removed and the ports within the Empire became free ports. "Freedom of trade and commerce with greater freedom in means of travelling and communication increased the bond of union between the scattered parts of our dominion and welded them into a united Empire."

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.



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BOOK V.

History of Canada.

CHAPTER I.

Geography of Canada.

"Canada is an Indian word for a collection of huts which the first European visitors mistook for the name of the country." Baker.

"The countries best adapted to support sturdy and prolific races are those lying in middle latitudes, with a moderate elevation, with the sea penetrating deeply into the land, ameliorating the climate, reducing the distance of every part of the interior from the sea, and facilitating the exchange of commodities." Herbertson.

Position:—The self-governing Dominion of Canada lies between longitudes 58° and 141° W. and stretches northward from latitude 49° N. far into the Arctic Circle. Washed on the north by the Arctic Ocean, on the east by the Atlantic and on the west by the Pacific, her only land boundary is in the south which is the territory of the United States. Her history would have been very different from what it is at the present day but for her close proximity to that nation. The fierce contest in the eighteenth century between England and France, ending in the conquest of Canada by the former, can be

explained only by this geographical fact of her immediate neighbourhood to New England settlements. The one great advantage of her position is that she is placed on a different footing from Australia, New Zealand and other British colonies with regard to emigration; and this fact accounts for the increase of her population during the last half a century and more.

Surface:—No country illustrates better than Canada the bearing of physical features on the growth and expansion of settlement. In the first place the movement of population is from east to west. The filling up of the central prairie region shut in by mountains has been much more rapid than the colonisation of the east and the west, where the work of clearing the forests had to be accomplished before settlement could be thought of. Consequently, the progress was rather slow. The treeless plains, on the other hand, require only the simple process of breaking the ground for cultivation. Secondly, the mountains of Canada have played no insignificant part in her history. The Cordilleran Mountains defied all access from the west and were for a long time a barrier to over-land expansion to the Pacific. The belated settlement of British Columbia, in spite of the fact that the British flag had been flying there for years is due to the lofty Rocky Mountains.

Rivers and Lakes:—Canada is a land of rivers and lakes. To estimate the importance of these lakes and rivers it is necessary to understand that in olden days they were the only highways through the pathless

woods. Therefore to the explorer they had been of immense service. The process of clearing the Canadian forests was largely aided by the net-work of rivers which carried away the logs as fast as they were cut. "Rivers are natural roads connecting the coasts with the heart of the country." Trade and settlements follow their course. Of the rivers which communicate with the interior, the St. Lawrence, the Mackenzie and the Nelson are the most important. The St. Lawrence, which drains the lakes Superior, Michigan, Huron, Erie and Ontario, is one of the most important water-ways of the world. Though it is ice-bound for five months in the year, the commercial importance of the river as well as of the lakes, is very great. It is appropriately called the "key of the Dominion." "You do not realise at home" remarks Baker, "the magnificence of this Canadian Nile, or the imperial importance of that Dominion of which it is the sustaining artery". The Mackenzie drains the lakes Athabasca, Great Slave and Great Bear. The Nelson empties the waters of lake Winnipeg into the Hudson Bay. It was following the course of the former that Mackenzie explored the North-west Territory and reached the Artic Ocean. But the northern rivers, since they flow from warmer latitudes through the cold regions of the Arctic Circle are of very little commercial value. The lack of good navigable rivers in the west, accounts for the long neglect of the Pacific coast. Rivers are valuable also as generating electricity from water-falls which can be made use of to turn the wheels of industry.

"Minneapolis might not be a great flour-milling town but for the available water-power from the falls of St. Antony." At present all the electricity used in Buffalo is generated from the famous falls of Niagara which occur between lakes Erie and Ontario.

Climate and Rainfall:—"The history of the migration of races and the successful colonisation of new lands teems with interest from the point of view of climatic control. Colonisation is easiest and most successful where climatic conditions approach most nearly those of the mother country." Lying more or less in the same latitude Canada almost reproduces the climate of Great Britain. But variety must necessarily be the notable feature of the climate of an extensive territory like the Dominion. In the barren north the climate being rigorous, much of the area is unfit for occupation. British Columbia, on the other hand, enjoys an equable climate. The Maritime Provinces have a mild climate and support a dense population. But the climate of the inland regions is continental. Over a greater part of the country the summers are hot and the winters long and severe. The absence of mountains lying east to west to obstruct the free passage of cold winds from the Arctic regions, and warm winds from the south accounts for the great extremes of temperature. The great contrast between the coastal regions and the interior is caused by the direction of mountain ranges which shut out the inland regions from moisture and the warm winds from the Atlantic and the Pacific. Consequently, while the Atlantic

Provinces, the Lake Peninsula and the Pacific coast are areas of very heavy rainfall and dense forests, the treeless prairies of the interior have few showers.

This absence of moisture gives rise to great extremes of temperature, but allows wheat to be grown in Manitoba on which the prosperity of the province depends. It aids flour milling though it is a serious handicap to spinning. A noteworthy feature of the climate is the prevalence of the warm, dry Chinook winds from the Rockies which melt the snow early in winter. The result is, for nearly two hundred miles east from the base of the Rockies, fodder so important for live-stock and agriculture, can be had throughout the year. This has given rise to 'cattle-ranching' to which the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan owe their origin and subsequent development. Another notable fact is that, while the St. Lawrence is ice-bound in winter, as a result of the cold Labrador Current, the harbours Halifax and St. John are free from ice, thanks to the Gulf Stream. Briefly the climate of Canada has influenced her growth at every stage. It was only after the Maritime Provinces and the Lake Peninsula, which enjoy the advantage of a maritime climate, were filled up, that the movement towards the interior began, and the great west came to be explored.

Products 1. Forest:—The history of Canada was largely shaped by the existence of forests. The settlements were originally, as they are at present, valued for the hard wood supplied to the European market. Much of Canada is still covered with thick forests. The settled

provinces were once densely wooded. Pines, spruces and larches of the sub-Arctic forests, firs, cyprus and cedars of British Columbia, maples, oaks, beeches and chestnuts of the Atlantic Provinces are the most important forest products. White and red pines appear everywhere and are among the best variety of timber. The spruces are valuable as affording wood-pulp for the manufacture of paper. New Brunswick, Quebec and Vancouver Island export the largest quantity of these forest products. Ottawa, situated on the river of the same name, is the headquarters of the timber trade for the world.

2. Farm Produce:—"Canada is and has long been, a nation of farmers" She has some of the finest wheat fields in the world. The provinces of Manitoba and Assiniboia owe their origin and prosperity to wheat cultivation. Almost every variety of grain and fruit is grown in Canada. Besides maize, tobacco and tomatoes, barley and oats are cultivated. Prince Edward Island is known as "the garden of Eastern Canada." In addition to those mentioned above, Ontario produces peaches, grapes and apples and is also the largest exporter of cheese in the world. But the finest apples are obtained from Nova Scotia. British Columbia, on the other hand, yields the best oranges and pears.

3. Fur:—The history of the North-West Territory is the story of the fur trade. The animals of the north are much prized for their fur which fetch a high price in Europe. "The sub-Arctic forests are the home of the most important fur-bearing animals including the beaver,

bear, marten, musk-rat, otter and lynx. It was fur that was the source of attraction to the first settlers.

4. Fisheries:—Much more important than the forest and agricultural produce are the Canadian fisheries. Cod, herring, mackerel, sardines, lobsters and oysters are obtained in large quantities from the Atlantic. The lakes abound in white fish. The Salmon is found in the rivers of the west, Oil is extracted from cod and other fish and is a great commercial product. "The cod fishery alone employs more than fifty thousand men who would form an invaluable Marine Reserve in times of national danger."

5. Minerals:—Canada has not less to show by way of mineral wealth though her resources await further development. There are rich deposits of coal in Nova Scotia, Cape Breton Island and British Columbia. Iron ore is found in the Eastern Provinces and British Columbia. There are numerous petroleum wells in Ontario, in addition to natural gas, salt, phosphate of lime, copper, nickel and the precious metals. "The mines of Sadbury are among the chief sources of the world supply of nickel." Gold is obtained from the mines of Khlondyke District, British Columbia and Nova Scotia. The Eastern Provinces abound in gypsum; New Brunswick produces excellent granite; and Quebec has a rich store of asbestos. It was the discovery of the precious metal that led to the influx of population to the mining centres in British Columbia and Yukon.

Industry:—Lumbering is the chief industry in

Canada. "Timber is felled, trimmed and floated down the rivers to the saw-mills where it is shaped into logs for the European markets or sawn into planks, boards and staves for the United States." Agriculture, mining, fishing and trade in fur are other occupations. Among manufactures may be mentioned sugar-refining, tanning cigar-making, iron and steel manufactures, paper making, saw-milling and the manufacture of cottons and woollens.

Harbours:—The harbours naturally arrange themselves into three groups: the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Lake group. The Arctic coast does not come for consideration on account of climate. On the other hand, "the Atlantic coast is the most useful at present, because it has been longest settled, it has unique facilities for communication inland, it looks towards European markets and its fisheries have very great political importance, but it has great climatic disadvantages." Strangely enough the Pacific is the best of the lot and has great possibilities considering the revival of the East. Halifax, St. John, Montreal, Quebec, Ottawa, Toronto and Vancouver are some of the chief harbours.

Internal Communication:—"Natural advantages are of little avail unless there are roads, railways and steamers to bring the worker to the land and to the mine and to transport his produce to the great markets of the world." The waterways of Canada are of the highest value for internal communication and have been made more serviceable by deepening. Canals have been opened to avoid rapids. There is hardly a river or lake on which

steamers do not ply. Besides, the country is filled with a network of railways. The first railway was opened in 1836. But it was not until 1857 that the greatest of Canadian railways namely The Grand Trunk, the Canadian Pacific and the Intercolonial were projected. The most important of the lines is the Canadian Pacific which runs from St. John in the Atlantic to Vancouver in the Pacific. It is almost the longest railway in the world and "makes the backbone of Canadian travel." It connects together not only all the important provinces of the Dominion but also all its chief towns. On the line are St. John, Halifax, Ottawa, Port Arthur, Winnepeg, Regina, Calgary, Banff and Vancouver. The railway crosses the Cordilleran System at three points, viz the Kicking Horse, the Roger and the Eagle passes. The traveller's first experience is that of a wooded country. The scenery of the great lakes next arrests his attention. Passing then over a wild country of rivers and woods, he reaches the vast prairies beyond which are the Rocky Mountains. The scene next changes to giddy heights. deep descents, and gruesome tunnels. These past, he finds himself in British Columbia and at last at Vancouver, the terminus of the railway.

"The Canadian Pacific is also the shortest highway from England to the East and to Australia." It has led to closer union and intercourse between the several provinces constituting the Dominion, crushed local differences, and quickened the feeling of national consciousness. It has given an impetus to exploration, to the settlement

of vacant lands and to the development of the resources of the country. Besides, it has great military value and has brought prosperity to the country.

CHAPTER II.

Expansion of Canada.

"When the English took Canada they took in effect the valley of the St. Lawrence, the fringes of a great water-way leading to the sea. The continental part of Canada, the prairie land of the north-west, was a later acquisition, gained by gradual moving on and assured by railways." Charles Lucas.

Quebec:—We must now resume the story of Canada from the defeat of Montcalm at Quebec which brought that colony under the British flag. The Treaty of Paris, which concluded the Seven Years' War, confirmed England in the possession of French territory in the continent of North America. At the time the Canadians numbered only sixty-five thousand. They were entirely French in origin and Catholics by religion. For "the Jesuit led the van of French colonisation. Canada was a true child of the Church baptized in infancy and faithful to the last." The area occupied was within easy reach of the St. Lawrence. West of the river Ottawa the Indians were left to themselves, for in spite of natural advantages of communication with the interior afforded by the St. Lawrence and the chain of the great lakes, the work of settlement was stayed by the thick forests. Moreover, the French Jesuits, who were the pioneers in colonisation attached

greater importance to religion than to the extension of French dominion.

The American War and the Growth of Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia:—The French settlers were satisfied with the system of government established after the conquest. Soon however their loyalty to England was subjected to a severe test by the American Revolt and was not found wanting. The Canadians observed strict neutrality during the war and ably defended themselves against the onslaught of the Americans. Nay, they went further and offered refuge to loyalist emigrants from New England. As the struggle between the colonies and the mother country grew bitter, those who were loyal to England emigrated in large numbers to Canada and peopled Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Ontario. In fact, Ontario and New Brunswick owe their origin to the new American settlers. The province of Ontario continued for long to attract fresh bands of settlers from both the United States and Great Britain, for, the movement of Canadian expansion being from east to west it is in the immediate vicinity of Quebec and within easy access by water-ways. But more than the advantages derived from situation are those due to fertility of the soil and vast resources.

Canada both lost and gained by the American war of Independence. The fertile Ohio valley and the districts south and west of the great lakes were lost to her. The re-adjustment of territory by the Treaty of

Versailles also drove a wedge of alien land between Canada proper and the Maritime Provinces. But her loss was more than counterbalanced by her gain. The most important result of the war was a substantial increase of the English element in her population to the extent of eighty-thousand. "Without detracting from the achievement of our French fellow citizens, it is truth to say that the loyalists were the makers of Canada. They were an army of leaders, the most influential judges, the most distinguished lawyers, the most capable and prominent physicians, the most highly educated of the clergy, the members of the council of the various colonies, the crown officials, people of culture and social distinction—these with the faithful few whose fortune followed theirs were the loyalists." The United Empire Loyalists as these immigrants were called, were encouraged by award of lands by the British Government. "Their descendants still play a prominent part in Canadian life and have done much to promote the spirit of sturdy loyalty to the British Crown."

The War of 1812 and Expansion:—The next stage in the history of Canadian expansion was reached when the fidelity of the Canadians stood a second test. During the Napoleonic War the Americans made a mighty effort to conquer Canada. The Canadians had little in common with their republican neighbours and creditably acquitted themselves by presenting a united front to the Americans. The only result of the aggressive campaign was to tighten the bond between the

daughter and the mother. The Peace of 1815 ushered in an era of expansion and progress. A great tide of emigration set in and Canada became the chief outlet for the surplus British population. The great West was gradually penerated by means of water-ways and the opening of the West went side by side with industrial development.

The Hudson Bay Company: Rupert's Land:— The rest of the story of Canadian expansion is covered by the history of the Hudson Bay Company which was constituted in 1670 by a charter of Charles II. They were given the exclusive right to trade and settle in what came to be known as Rupert's Land in honour of the first chairman of the Company. From very early days the Arctic ocean had begun to attract a host of explorers. The names of Frobisher, Davis and Hudson are familiar in connection with the fruitless search for the North West Passage. The dangers of navigation in frozen seas, and the difficulties encountered by these adventurers were not such as to attract settlers. Further the rigorous cold climate and scanty vegetation stood in the way of settlement. But not without a struggle was the territory kept. When the possibilities of a lucrative trade in fur came to be known the Corporation had to contend against the French and the Indians for over a century. In the end, however, the Treaty of Utrecht recognised English right to Rupert's Land., But the whole territory belonging to the Company remained long unoccupied.

The Exploration of the West: British Columbia:—The advent in 1787 of a rival company known as the North-West Company formed by the merchants of Montreal marks an important stage in the growth of Canadian settlement. They pushed on the work of exploration. Under their auspices, a Scotchman by name Sir Alexander Mackenzie started from Lake Athabasca in 1789 and went down the river that bears his name and reached the Arctic Ocean. Three years later he travelled across the Continent and was the first to reach the Pacific by overland journey. Before him Cook and Vancouver had sighted and surveyed the coast. The British flag was flying on the shores of the Pacific; but the first trading post in British Columbia was established only in 1806 at Fort Frazer. The belated settlement of the west coast is accounted for by the difficulty presented to overland expansion by the lofty Rocky Mountains. "The great mountain mass shut off this region from the world. No railway had yet linked it to the Atlantic, no steamers yet crossed the Pacific to the Asiatic shores. Until that time came British Columbia was on the outer margin of the commercial world, and its rich resources in gold, silver, copper and coal, the timber supplies of its forests, the salmon of its irrigated plateau were not fully developed." Mackenzie's exploit was an eye-opener revealing as it did the existence of passes in the mountains. Not long before the entire region was opened up, there occurred a dispute over the question of boundary between the United States and Canada which was eventually decided by arbitration. The discovery of gold in the west

coast was followed by an influx of population and British Columbia was created into a separate province in 1851. The administration was taken over by the British Government from the Company and Vancouver was added on to the province in 1806.

Manitoba:— Before 1812 there were only isolated trading posts within the Hudson Bay Territory. The first attempt to colonise the north-west was made by a Scotch nobleman Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, who purchased from the Hudson Bay Company an extensive territory in the north-west, which he named Asinoboia. On the banks of the Red River, in the immediate vicinity of Ontario, a colony was set up in 1812 consisting of Irish and Scotch Highlanders. This was the beginning of Manitoba. But the hostile attitude of the North-West Company brought the colony to the verge of destruction. The arrival of fresh numbers, however strengthened the settlement, and after the amalgamation of the two companies in 1821, it had a peaceful and steady growth. In 1835 the government was organised. The Red River Settlement was the nucleus of the province of Manitoba. The exploration of the west revealed that the prairies were well adapted for the cultivation of wheat. This important discovery attracted an army of farmers and led to the growth of Manitoba with its capital Winnipeg.

The North-West: Saskatchewan, Alberta & Yukon:—The territories of the Hudson Bay Company were purchased by the Canadian Government in 1870. The Company still retains its commercial rights. The

progress after the incorporation of the North-West Territory into the Dominion has been rapid. The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway pushed on the expansion of Canada and encouraged settlement. The pastures beyond Manitoba invited settlement and the growth of population led to the creation of the four new provinces of Assinoboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Athabasca. Meanwhile, the discovery of gold in Yukon attracted settlers and it was erected into a separate province. The remaining lands comprise the North West Territories and extend over the thinly peopled tundra region bordering the Arctic seas.

Resume:—To summarise, Quebec is the senior province, but in point of numbers, wealth and manufacture the province of Ontario, founded by loyalist emigrants from the United States, claims the foremost place. The provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia also received their full quota of this increase of population from immigration. The wheat fields attracted farmers to Manitoba, while the provinces of Assinoboia, Alberta and Athabaska owe their origin to their pastures. Gold was the source of attraction to British Columbia and Yukon. The territory round the Hudson Bay derives its importance as a fur-hunting reserve. "Thus, the colony described at its capture (1759) as a few square miles of snow, had expanded into an immense territory, thirty times the size of the mother country, the home of over seven million folks, united in their attachment to the the Dominion and in loyal devotion to Britain."

CHAPTER III.

Experiments in Canadian Government.

"The constitutional evolution of Canada is important, not only in itself, but because it has, in broad outline, supplied a model for the other great colonial dominions of the Crown." Marriot.

First Period: Semi-military Rule 1760-1774:—Canada passed under British rule in 1760, on the successful termination of the British attack on Montreal. For the first three years the government was purely military. The royal proclamation of 1763 introduced a new order of things. For eleven years from 1763 to 1774 Canada was placed under semi-military rule. The province of Quebec, which was all the settled area at the time,—Nova Scotia excepted—was placed under a military Governor assisted by an Advisory Council. A popular Assembly was designed to be created, but the unwillingness of the French Canadians to take the oath of allegiance shelved aside that question for the present.

Problems of Canadian Administration:—The administration of Canada presented a difficult problem. In the first place, Great Britain was slow to abandon her time-old colonial policy and wanted to extend to Canada the same treatment accorded to the American Colonies. However, before this could be done, the people, who were alien in language, religion, law and mode of

life, had to be bound down by the oath of allegiance to the British Crown. The French Canadians were Catholics and the Catholic Church being anti-English the Government was naturally suspicious. French was the common language; and French law both civil and criminal was administered. Then the land tenure was different in character from the small freehold of New England. Lastly, the Home Government displayed a singular lack of understanding and judgment in the appointment of officers to administer the province. The English judges were ignorant of both French law and the French language. The appointment of officers was made according to the Party System. But England was fortunate in that at this most critical period she was served by two first-rate administrators, Murray and Carleton who tided over the difficulty.

Second Period: 1774-1791. The Quebec Act:— The first attempt to conciliate the French subjects in Canada was made, during the regime of Carleton, by passing the Quebec Act which ended the semi-military rule. According to the provisions of the Act, Roman Catholicism became the state religion. As regards civil matters, French law was administered. But criminal cases were adjudged according to the English code. In respect of government no change was made. The colony was administered as before by a Governor assisted by a nominated Council. "This important Act, under which it was governed, until it was divided into the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada in 1791, gave to the

conquered people of Canada almost a national existence."

The War of American Independence:—The Quebec Act was designed to satisfy the Canadians. That it produced the desired effect was brought out by their attitude towards the colonies during their struggle with the mother-country. The Americans invaded Canada and though they succeeded in capturing Montreal they were eventually repulsed. The American War largely moulded Canadian history. True, England lost an Empire, but the loss was more than compensated by the gain measured by the number of loyalist refugees who peopled Nova Scotia and founded the provinces of Ontario and New Brunswick. The new settlers received grants of land and were distinguished by the letters U. E.

Third Period: 1791-1840: The Constitutional Act:—The increase of British settlers created an impossible situation; for Canada was no longer the land of a single nationality. The British element in the population could not be ignored. The French and the English were almost well-balanced and ere long they began to quarrel. From the outset, the Quebec Act had given no satisfaction to the English in Quebec. To the new settlers of Ontario, the very idea of submitting to French law was repugnant. Their inherent love of freedom began to assert itself and demand the same privilege to be judged according to the laws of their own country, which the French claimed for themselves and were enjoying to some extent. To pacify the country the Constitutional Act was passed in 1791, by which

Ontario or Upper Canada was made distinct from Lower Canada or Quebec. While Upper Canada was to be governed by British laws, French laws and language were to be in force in Lower Canada. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were separated and erected into separate provinces. A representative Chamber was set up in each province. The government was to be carried on, with the aid of a nominated Legislative Council, by a Governor appointed by the Crown. But the Executive was not responsible to the Legislature. It was the type of English Constitution before the Revolution of 1688, a type with which the American Colonies were quite familiar. In short, Canada enjoyed legislative powers but not responsible government,

Events leading to the Durham Report:—The Constitutional Act of 1791 was the first step in the direction of self-government. Indeed it worked smoothly for a time and satisfied both the French and the English as was evidenced by their attitude during England's great conflict with France. In the hour of peril they forgot their quarrel and rallied round to the defence of their common land. The close of the war was followed by fresh immigration. With the growth of population and the cessation of hostilities, the old quarrel between the English and the French broke out afresh and the Canadian agitation entered a new phase. "The new settlers were democratic in their training and method of thought and had nothing but ridicule for the old Tory aristocracy, whose power they at once openly set about to overthrow and discredit." The officials and members of the

Legislative Council were drawn from among a small aristocracy opposed to popular aspirations. In Upper Canada this exclusive governing body was known as the "Family Compact". In Lower Canada the problem was made intricate by the predominance of the English-speaking minority in the Legislative Council and the domination of the French in the Representative Assembly. From the nature of the constitution, friction between the Executive and Legislature was inevitable. There was the difficulty natural where an Executive independent of the Legislature is grafted on a representative institution. The source of all trouble was race antagonism to which Lord Durham drew attention in his famous report. "I found" says the noble Lord, "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state; I found a struggle not of principles but of races." Besides, there was the vexed land question. According to the Constitutional Act, wherever a grant of land was made, a portion equivalent to one-seventh of the grant was to be set apart for the Church. This was an evil as the Church did not cultivate its own lands. At a time when free land could be had from the Government, there were no purchasers for Church lands with the result, the 'Clergy reserves' overgrown with forests prevented the expansion of villages. Thus, the causes of discontent were not only racial and political but also economic. The people were excluded from political power and the agitation for parliamentary reform in England had its direct influence upon the colony. The discontent came to a head in 1837. Mackenzie and Papineau were

the leaders of revolts, which broke out in Upper and Lower Canada. Though they failed, the risings had the immediate effect of drawing the attention of the British Government. Lord Durham was sent out to investigate the matter and make a report.

The Durham Report:—In 1839 the celebrated Durham Report was published. "It remains to this day one of the most important State documents in the entire history of the British colonial administration." His findings were that ministers must be made responsible to the Legislature and that the Governor must be reduced to the position of a constitutional king. Accepting then "the principle that a responsible executive is the corner-stone of constitutional liberty" he suggested responsible government as a practical solution of the problem and advocated the legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada as a step to minimise the existing racial differences.

Fourth Period: 1840-1867. The Union Act:—The recommendations of Lord Durham were embodied in the Union Act of 1840, which brought Upper and Lower Canada under one legislature and inaugurated an era of responsible government. But it was not until 1847 that the cardinal principle of the Cabinet System, namely the responsibility of the executive to the elected chamber, was fully recognised. That year Lord Elgin was appointed as Governor-General with definite instructions "to act generally upon the advice of the Executive Council and to receive as members of that body those persons, who might be pointed to him, as entitled

to such positions, by possesing the confidence of the Assembly." Consequently, when a bill to compensate those who had incurred loss of property by the rebellion of 1837 was brought and passed by the popular assembly, Lord Elgin, in the teeth of opposition from the Conservative minority, gave his assent to it. Here was the first victory for responsible government. The conduct of the infuriated mob in setting the Parliament buildings on fire and stoning the Governor-General led to the removal of the capital from Montreal to Ottawa. Lord Elgin's regime also saw the abolition of the 'clergy reserves' in 1854. Municipal bodies were made trustees of Church lands, which thus became available for purposes of education and charity. The same year the 'seigniorial system' obtaining in Quebec was done away with. But the question that taxed the resources of Lord Elgin was a movement for union with the United States, born of the trade depressions following the repeal of the Corn Laws in Britain in 1846. She became a free-trader, but the colonies were still subject to Navigation Acts, without the compensating advantage of preferential treatment of their commodities in respect of duties at British ports. The proposal for a union with their southern neighbours was seriously put forward by many influential citizens of Montreal. Lord Elgin, however, solved the problem by the repeal of the Navigation Laws, thus converting Canada to the new policy of free-trade.

Movement towards Federation:—The Union A ct was only a remedy and could not eradicate the evil.

For a time, however, the new constitution worked well. It was a real solution to one problem, viz., the constant conflict between the Executive and the Legislature; but it failed to really unite the two provinces. "For British North America never has been a unity. Provincial feeling has always been strong, and though the presence of a powerful neighbour has prevented the triumph of separatism, geography and sentiment have combined to prohibit unity." A dead-lock between Upper and Lower Canada pointed to federation as the final solution of differences due to race, history, interest and geographical position. A conference of the delegates from the Maritime Provinces and Upper Canada met in 1864, and drafted a scheme. The forces of the movement for federation gathered strength from the fear of the probable absorption of Canada by the United States. The invasion of Canada in 1806 more than ever brought home the value of combined action. On March 19, 1867, the British North America Act was passed by the Imperial Parliament and on the first of July of the same year, the Dominion of Canada came into being.

Federation:—Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were formed into one Dominion. Three years later, when the territorial rights of the Hudson Bay Company were purchased in 1870, the provinces of Manitoba, and Rupert's Land were added to the Dominion. In the following year British Columbia joined the federation. Yukon was erected into a separate province in 1880. Saskatchewan and Alberta were created two

distinct provinces in 1905. Vancouver and Prince Edward Islands have also been incorporated.

The Federal Government:—A central government was set up over the vast territory. A Federal Parliament consisting of two houses constitutes the Legislature. The Senate consists of nominated members. The House of Commons consists of elected representatives. The legislative power is exercised by the King and the Federal Parliament. The Governor-General with a Cabinet responsible to the Legislature forms the Executive. Each province has its own Lieutenant-Governor with an Executive responsible to the Legislature, which, except in Quebec and Nova Scotia, consists of a single chamber.

Summary:—To summarise, the semi-military rule lasted from the conquest in 1760 to the Quebec Act of 1774. From 1774 to the Constitutional Act of 1791 she was governed as a Crown Colony. From 1791 to the Union Act of 1840 she had a representative government without a responsible Executive. From 1840 to the British North America Act of 1867 she enjoyed responsible government of a unitary type, and from 1867 onwards responsible government combined with federalism.

CHAPTER IV.

Federation And After.

"A federal state is a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity and power with the maintenance of State rights." Dicey.

"We may arrive at the general idea of a federal state as a whole made up of parts, politically co-ordinate and constitutionally separate." Sidgwick.

What is a Federation?—A federation is a union of autonomous states having approximate equality of status for certain common ends. It is a form of union which gives free play to local interests and prejudices. A federal state is a single state. It is a type of polity which appeals to States which desire union but not unity. The component parts in a union, while presenting an appearance of oneness, retain their distinct character. On the other hand, where the desire is unity, the States become completely merged in the whole and lose their identity as such. "A federal state is a whole made up of parts with approximate equality of political position among the members and a clear and precise as well as balanced and stable constitutional division of governmental functions between the government of the whole and the government of the parts." Federal polity can be roughly compared to double faced Janus—one face attends to matters external both to the part-States and to

the whole; the other confines its attention to internal problems. The Swiss Confederation, the United States of America, the German Empire, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia and the Union of South Africa afford the best examples of federation.

Conditions of Federation:—Federation presupposes the presence of certain conditions. In the first place, the federal parts must be knit together by common ties, such as geography, history, race, language and law so as to evoke in their citizens the sentiment of common nationality. It is essential that the States must be contiguous. They must not be sharply divided by sentiments. Secondly, there must exist in the countries forming the federation a desire for union and a willingness to sacrifice something of their independence in order to strengthen themselves and preserve their liberty. But the sense of common interest must not be too strong, in which case it finds expression in a legislative union as that between England and Scotland. In other words, along with the desire for national unity there must be the determination on the part of the States to preserve their distinct character. Lastly, the success of federal government is conditioned by the approximate equality of the parts themselves in wealth, population and historical position. It is obvious that the presence of a dominant partner will be fraught with dangerous results. "The dominant partner may exercise an authority inconsistent with federal equality". The first axiom of federalism is that each State should be guaranteed equality of opportunities and privileges.

The Aim of Federation:—"Federation is a mode of political organisation by which a nation may realise the maximum of liberty compatible with order." It is an attempt to reconcile national sentiment with State patriotism. This aim manifests itself in the division of powers between the national government and the part-States. In a federal union each of the component parts retains certain powers and surrenders certain others to the federal government. What immediately concerns the nation as a whole is entrusted to the federal government and whatever is not of national interest and importance is left to be managed by the part-States. The latter are supreme as regards purely internal local affairs, where the interference of the Federal Executive and Legislature will be strongly resented. Generally such functions as the control of the army and the navy, of foreign relations, currency, commerce and trade, the regulation of patents and copyrights, the postal system, some powers of taxation, law and justice belong to the federal government.

Motives for Federation:—The constant fear of absorption by a powerful neighbour obliges small States to maintain an army out of all proportion to their size. Federation, therefore, while guaranteeing their independence, enables them to escape the chief military and economic disadvantages pertaining to small States. Moreover, the tendency of modern States being the exclusion of foreign competition by means of tariffs or duties on exports and imports, the small States on account of their size are placed at a disadvantage when compared

with large ones, because they have freedom of trade only within a small limited area. The motive for federation is, therefore, not only political but also economic. Again federation reduces the practical difficulties presented by extent of territory in the way of government.

What led to the Canadian Federation:—The Union Act of 1840 did not solve the Canadian problem but only postponed the evil day. For one thing, there was no love lost between the English and the French. The endless disputes between them, which created a deadlock, could be settled only by a change in the form of government. Federation alone could settle the differences due to race, history, interests and geographical position. But the immediate incentive to union was the fear of conquest by the United States. The Canadians, more than ever, realised their helplessness in the event of a real invasion and felt the need for union. Further, the opening of the west revealed a vast stretch of land from the great lakes to the Rocky Mountains with great potentialities. If it were not promptly occupied and organised, for which internal harmony was essential, it might fall into the hands of a powerful enemy and thus be lost to Canada. Lastly, the example of the United States inspired the Canadians and made them seek a final solution of their problem in federation.

The Dominion of Canada:—The movement towards Canadian Federation came to a head under the Governorship of Lord Monck. In 1867 the British North America Act was passed by the British Parliament by

which Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunwick were federated into one Dominion under the British Crown. Three years later when the lands belonging to the Hudson Bay Company were purchased Manitoba became a unit of the Federation. Columbia joined the Dominion in the following year. Yukon was separated from the North-west Territories in 1898, Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905. Now the Dominion exercises sway over all the territories of British North America except Newfoundland.

The Government of Canada:—A central Government is set up over the vast country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The Crown is represented by a Governor-General. The executive authority is exercised by the Governor-General and a Cabinet responsible to the Legislature and known as the King's Privy Council of Canada. The Legislature consists of two Houses. The Senate is composed of members nominated for life by the Governor-General in Council. The Lower House consists of elected representatives from the provinces. "In the House of Commons Quebec has, and must always have, 65 members, the rest being assigned to the several provinces according to population." The real power is exercised by the House of Commons elected for five years. "Thus, with a Governor-General who is much more important socially than politically, and a Senate which does what it is told, Canada is perhaps the most democratic country in the world." Each province has a Lieutenant-Governor with a Legislature consisting except in Quebec and Nova

Scotia, of a single chamber and an Executive responsible thereto. Canada has complete internal freedom, but in external relations the Imperial Government is supreme. Questions affecting the Dominion directly are referred to the Colonial Authorities and their wishes ascertained. She might well say in the words of a modern poet:

"Daughter am I in my mother's house, but mistress in my own."

Progress After:—The successful working of the Federation has made it a model for the other great colonial dominions of the Crown; for federation justified the hopes that were entertained of it. The period that followed was marked by rapid progress in all directions. The Federal Government immediately set to work to construct a railway connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific. The Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1886. It links together the nine provinces that form the great Dominion. The contribution of the line to the political unity of the country has been very great. Its completion opened the whole country west of the lakes and disclosed its value for raising crops and rearing cattle. This knowledge led to an influx of population followed by the development of the resources of the country. The growth of agriculture in the north-west in recent years has been well marked. The industrial progress in the older provinces has been surpassing. Mines have been opened and are worked up in British Columbia and Yukon. The commercial prosperity of the country is most encouraging.

The federation of Canada has not only led to internal harmony, but has given the lie to the ripe-fruit theory. Grave fear was entertained at the time when responsible government was granted to Canada, that she would drop out of the mother-tree. But later history has proved not only how groundless that fear was, but also how strong the tie is, that binds the daughter to the mother. In 1897 Canada adopted Imperial Preference, by which the products of the mother-country are given preference over foreign goods. Nor is this all. With the progress and prosperity of the Dominion she naturally began to assume her proper place among the nations of the world. Her ability has been coupled with her willingness to share the burdens of the Empire. In the year 1900, the colonists fought side by side with British troops for the honour and safety of the Empire in South Africa. When the question of contribution to the Imperial Navy cropped up, Canada displayed her readiness to co-operate with Great Britain in maintaining the supremacy of the British navy at sea. This spirit of imperial unity was further displayed in the Great War when at the hour of danger she rallied round the British flag and threw herself heart and soul into the desperate struggle and helped the Empire to win the victory.

CHAPTER V.

Newfoundland And Labrador.

"In the days of sailing ships no nursery for seamen was so valuable as the Newfoundland fisheries." Pollard.

Discovery:—Newfoundland, at the entrance of the Gulf of St. Lawrence was discovered in 1497 by John Cabot, an Italian sailor who sailed in the service of King Henry VII of England. The discovery constituted the title deed of England for the colonisation of the New World. But she was slow to enforce the claim. "Nothing proves," says Woodward, "more conclusively the unfitness of England at that period for a policy of external growth than the neglect with which this most important discovery of the North American mainland was treated." She was weak and discredited and for half a century she was engaged in repairing her own house. Nearly a century was to elapse before Englishmen thought of colonisation. John Cabot was followed by a host of other navigators. The object of all voyages in the sixteenth century was not so much to discover new lands or to set up colonies, as to find out the North West Passage to the East. Soon, however, the fisheries off the coast of Newfoundland began to draw sailors from the nations of western Europe.

Growth:—The first historic attempt to colonise the island was made by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who in 1583

sailed with three ships full of prospective settlers, and landed at St. Johns. The experiment proved a failure. The enterprise of Lord Baltimore in 1612 shared the fate of its predecessor. The harshness of the climate and the difficulty to explore the island compelled Baltimore to withdraw to Maryland. It was not in the interest of foreign fish traders to encourage permanent settlement. Great Britain actually prohibited permanent settlement within six miles of the coast. It was not before 1813 that grants of land and building of houses were made legal. "The rivalry of the French fishermen was another element which retarded the prosperity of the island." Thus it remained, valued for its fisheries alone, visited by sailors of all nationalities, with but a few detached settlements along the south-eastern coast, until the Peace of Utrecht. The Spanish Succession War had its echo in Newfoundland. There was fighting between the English and the French in and around the island. By the Treaty of Utrecht, the French surrendered all their claims except the right to catch and dry fish on the western and northern shores known as the French Shore. The Treaty of Paris (1763) gave France the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon to the south of Newfoundland. "These islands have ever since been a great nuisance to the Governments of Newfoundland and of Canada, because quantities of French brandy and lace are landed there and smuggled into Newfoundland and into the Canadian villages along the Gulf of St. Lawrence." The Treaty of Versailles, while affirming the French right to fish off

the coast, changed the boundary within which that right was to be exercised. The quarrel between the English and the French was not by any means ended. When the English began to push their settlements to the French Shore the struggle became more than ever bitter. This state of affairs continued until in 1904, after another century of bickerings, the French surrendered their claims and were compensated by the cession of the Islands of Los and some territory on the Gambia in Africa. The Newfoundland fisheries were also the bone of contention between Great Britain and the United States.

Government:—The population of the island in 1650 did not exceed two thousand. In the course of another century its permanent population had increased to eight thousand. Until 1729 the colony was governed by "Fishing Admirals." It was in that year that the first Civil Governor was appointed. In 1761 a Supreme Court of Justice was established in St. Johns. Meanwhile in 1765 Labrador was brought under the Government of the island. During the Napoleonic War the French competition was completely swept away. The monopoly of the fisheries gave the colonial merchants increased profits. "The value of fish trebled, wages rose, and in 1814 no less than seven thousand immigrants settled in the colony, the population of which had by that time increased to over eighty thousand." In 1832 the colony was granted repersentative government. But the Executive was not responsible to the Legislature. This created troubles and brought

government to a stand-still. Responsible government was inaugurated in 1855. Proposals were made to federate the island with the Dominion of Canada on three different occasions; but they all fell through. "Since 1866, Newfoundland has been the Anglo-American Cable Company's half-way house to America; and in 1897 a branch of the Naval Reserve was established in the island."

Geography :—The island is a hilly forested region cut up with rivers and lakes. Much of the interior is barren. The climate is healthy. The winters are long and severe and the summers short, hot and dry. The meeting of the cold Labrador Current and the hot Gulf-Stream off its coast causes thick fog. The forests on the west yield wood-pulp for paper. But the greatest industry, which supports the population is fishing. Cod is the most valuable of the fishes in the shore. "Not only does Newfoundland possess this inexhaustible treasure, but in the caplin and herring, which visit her shores in the spring, she has a monopoly of the best bait." The fisheries for cod and seals are the greatest source of her wealth and importance. Of the minerals, gold, silver, coal, copper, lead, nickel and gypsum are found. Iron is earthed near St. Johns, the Capital.

BOOK VI.

History of Australia.

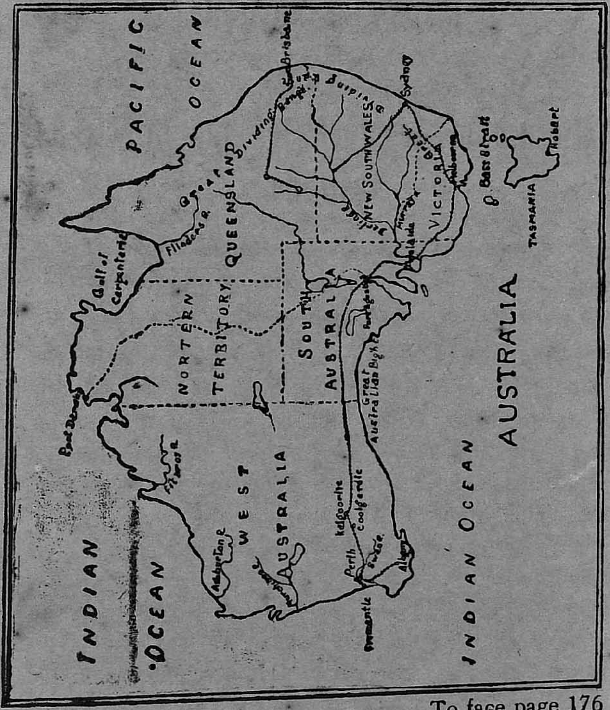
CHAPTER I.

Influence of Geography on the Growth of Australia.

"Owing to its position at the antipodes of the civilized world Australia has been longer a *terra-incognita* than any other region." Encyclopædia Britannica.

Position :—The island-Continent of Australia lies almost isolated in the southern hemisphere between the Pacific and Indian Oceans. The long neglect of her shores by sailors, and her growth, which is of recent date, bring out clearly the inter-dependence of history and geography. The colonisation of Australia was the work of the nineteenth century, nearly three hundred years after Englishmen first set foot on the American soil. Even many centuries after she came to be visited by European voyagers she remained for long as no man's land. In view of the fact that civilisation grew up along the southern shores of Europe and Asia, this may appear the more strange when it is remembered that, though Australia lies apart from the great land masses of the world, she is connected with Asia by a long chain of

COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.



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islands, serviceable as stepping stones. With her rather belated growth her situation had much to do. For her close proximity to the more fertile East Indies made her northern shores, which offered no great inducement for migration, to be neglected. It is only the eastern and southern coasts, from the nature of their climate and soil that invited settlement; but they are farthest away from the rest of the civilized world. "Thus long ages of seclusion from the rest of the world have impressed on this outlying region a marked singularity in aspect, climate and natural products. Isolation is the predominant characteristic; indications of affinity with other regions are few and obscure."

Physical Features: (1) Eastern Highlands:—The physical features of Australia have exercised a profound influence on the growth and expansion of the continent. Australia is a vast plain enclosed by the great Dividing Range on the east and the Darling Mountains on the west. The Dividing Range—known under different names as the Pyrennes, the Australian Alps, the Blue Mountains and the Liverpool Range,—runs north to south from Cape York to the province of Victoria where it reaches its greatest height It slopes gradually towards the interior, but descending as it does abruptly to the coast, it was a great bar to inland expansion. It was the discovery of passes in the Blue Mountains that gave to the settlement in New South Wales the prospect and scope for unlimited growth and development. "The western slopes of the tableland are the cream of the

continent." Even at the present day the difficulty of crossing the mountain has put an effective check on the multiplication of railways.

2. The Central Plains:—Immediately west of the Eastern Highlands and stretching from the Gulf of Carpentaria in the north to Gulfs Spencer and St. Vincent in the south are pasture lands which are among the finest in the world. But wherever an unfailing supply of water has been guaranteed by artesian wells agriculture is possible and has been resorted to. The mass of the plains, however, must remain a pastoral country with small patches of arable land round the artesian bores.

3. The Western Plateau:—Beyond the central plains is a vast arid table-land occupying more than half the continent. The mountains are not of great height and the most important range is the Darling, which runs parallel to the coast at a distance of nearly twenty miles. Most of this region is a useless sandy plateau devoid of any mountain or river system, barren, waterless and uninhabitable. "The so called lakes of the interior are merely vast sheets of stiff mud, sparkling with salt in the dry season and covered after the rain to a depth varying from a few inches to four or five feet with water which rapidly becomes salt. Apart from the pastoral and gold belts, the broad tropical peninsula, that ends off the Northern Territory, and the ridged south-western corner of the continent are the only two important districts of this vast plateau." The history of Australia would have

been very different from what it is at the present day if her western shores had possessed the attractions of the eastern. The continent would have been occupied in the seventeenth century by the Dutch and her addition to the Empire would have had to be accomplished by the sword. As it is, the ignorance of the existence of habitable areas in the east left the field clear for Great Britain.

Rivers and Harbours:—In an unsettled country rivers and ports are of the utmost value especially in the early stages of development. Australia is a land of drought. The Murray, with its tributaries, the Darling and the Macquarie, are the only rivers of any great length and importance. Of the other rivers, mention may be made of the Swan, the Ashberton, the Murchison, the Fitzroy and the Flinders. The rivers of Australia are not numerous. They are short and are of little service for navigation, a fact which goes a great way to explain the ignorance which prevailed for many centuries regarding the state of the continent and also the snail-slow progress ofexploration. The harbours of Australia, on the other hand, are full of interest to the student of the history of colonisation. It was round harbours situated amid fertile parts of the coastal plains that the first settlements arose. In this respect she resembles Africa, but her harbours are comparatively better than those of the Dark Continent. It was in spots favoured by Nature that each of the six capital cities of Australia grew up—Sydney on Port Jackson in New South Wales, Melbourne on Port Phillip in Victoria, Adelaide on Gulf St. Vincent in South

Australia, Perth on the Swan River in Western Australia, Brisbane on Moreton Bay in Queensland, and Hobart on the Derwent in Tasmania.

Climate and Rainfall:—Climate has been, in fact, the determining factor in the growth of settlement. The northern half lies in the Torrid Zone. "In summer, therefore, the extreme north is so much heated that the north-east trade wind is drawn across the equator and forms the north-west monsoon." The border ridges of the plateau, however, prevent the rain from reaching the interior, with the result, vegetation suddenly changes from tropical forest to pasture and desert. There is no rainfall in winter. The southern half of the continent has the Mediterranean type of climate and gets rain in winter. The south-east trade winds blowing from the Pacific bring rain to the east coast almost throughout the year. The great Dividing Range deprives the winds of most of their moisture, so that the interior slopes and the central plains receive insufficient rain. Consequently these regions are grass lands. From the centre to the west coast, except in pastures of the Western Plateau, rain is rare. The whole area is a sandy desert. "Hence the margins of Australia are well watered except the middle of the west and the middle of the south coast where the Great Bight curves northwards." Tasmania has ample rainfall, when compared with the continent and enjoys the mildest climate. Now, when a climate approximating to that of Europe can be met with only in the south and the south-east, it is no wonder that Tasman and Dampier

having visited the desert west should have returned with dismal accounts of the Southern Continent. Settlements grew up and began to thrive in the south and east because, there the climatic conditions approach those of the Mediterranean. Climate, therefore, stayed the growth of Australia.

Agricultural Products:—Among the industries sheep-farming takes the foremost rank. Wool is the chief source of wealth. Beyond the mountains are Downs covered with grass which support innumerable flocks. Sheep farming in Australia entails no great labour or cost for the squatter or the sheep owner. He has simply to turn the sheep out of doors and leave its growth to nature. His only enemy is the drought, misfortune of a kind which can scarcely be guarded against. The Australian climate improves fleece in many ways. "For the first century of the colony's life the wool grower was both pioneer and principal mainstay of trade; only since then mainly in the western State has the miner taken his place." Besides sheep, cattle and horses are reared. Horses of the Australian breed fetch a high price in India. Considerable areas are under cultivation in all the States. Wheat is grown in the south. Further north, maize is cultivated in all the States. Vine grows in South Australia and Victoria. Dairying is still an infant industry and in recent years has shown signs of increasing in importance.

Gold:—"If wool has been Australia's staple industry, gold has been its most successful advertisement." The

discovery of gold gave an impetus to the growth of the colonies. Ballarat near Melbourne, has the honour of being the first gold-find of Australia. Adventurers from all parts of the world flocked to the gold producing centres. Western Australia owes its importance mainly to the gold mines of Kimberley, Kalgoorlie, Coolgardie and Murchison. Gold fields exist in all the colonies; but Victoria, Queensland, New South Wales and Western Australia are the leading gold mining States. Australia stands third among the gold producing countries of the world. "The product of the Australian gold-mines is scattered all over the world. Their chief profit to the colonies has been the bringing of sturdy inhabitants who, when they found that gold hunting made them not so suddenly rich as they expected, had the sense to try slower but surer ways of earning a livelihood and improve their new home."

Other Minerals:—Australia is rich in mineral wealth. Coal is obtained in large quantities from New South Wales and rich deposits of it are known to exist in Queensland and Western Australia. Silver comes chiefly from the mother-State, from Broken Hill, and South Australia. Copper is mined in New South Wales, South Australia and Queensland. Tin is found in Tasmania, New South Wales and Western Australia. Iron is known to exist in every State except Victoria. Lead is got from New South Wales and Western Australia. But everywhere the rule is "no hills, no minerals."

Forests:—Forests cover the south east and parts of the northern and the western coast. The eucalyptus is the most common tree. The Huon pine of Tasmania is valuable for ship-building. Sandal-wood is an important export of Western Australia.

Railways:—Railways cover the settled areas and link the seaports with the mining centres. The completion of the line from Adelaide to Kalgoorlie, affords trans-continental communication. But commerce between Western Australia and the Eastern Provinces must be by means of inter-colonial steam ships. A telegraph line has been constructed from Adelaide to Port Darwin in the Gulf of Carpentaria, and a railway line connecting the two ports is in the process of building.

CHAPTER II.

Colonisation of Australia.

"In a sense we owe the settlement, if not the acquisition of Australia to the loss of America." Marriot.

Discovery:—It would appear that the island-Continent was known to the Portuguese. But they were silent about it because, according to Pope Alexander's award, all new lands on the Pacific found to the west of 147° E. should belong to Portugal, and those east of that line were to go to Spain. If the discovery had been made known, the Spaniards would have lawfully claimed all the east coast of Australia; and the Portuguese had no mind to strengthen their rival by additions of fresh territory. In the sixteenth century the dream of the North West Passage had taken such firm possession of European navigators that no systematic attempt to explore the southern hemisphere was made before the seventeenth century. The voyage of De Torres, a Spanish navigator, who discovered the strait which bears his name and actually sighted the continent without knowing it, did not add to men's knowledge of this unknown South-land. It was reserved to the Dutch to clear up the confusion of ideas about this *Terra Australis*. In 1642 Tasman, a Dutch navigator, started from Batavia in Java and discovered Tasmania and New Zealand. The former was called Van Dieman's Land in honour of the Dutch

Governor of the East Indies. These discoveries served to fix the position of the continent. The Dutch, however, made no attempt to occupy it, but in order to establish their right of discovery they called it New Holland. William Dampier was the first English adventurer to land in New Holland in 1689. The western part of the continent, where he landed, being a sandy desert he returned home disgusted and dis-appointed. In the discovery and exploration of Australia no name is more important than that of Captain Cook, who between the years 1768-79 made three successful voyages of exploration to the Pacific. Until surveyed by him in 1770, the east coast, the most important and fertile region of Australia remained wholly unknown. In that year he planted the Union Jack in what he christened New South Wales from a supposed resemblance of the coast to that of South Wales.

The Project of Colonisation:—In the years succeeding Cook's voyages, Australia appears to have been forgotten. England was then engaged in a great conflict with the American Colonies, the termination of which left her in despair for an outlet to the increasing number of convict population. Ever since the days of Charles I, England had been getting rid of criminals and the unruly elements in her population by transporting them to the West Indies and the North American Colonies, there to work as bondsmen in plantations. There was the probability though not the certainty of New Holland slipping into the hands of the French. That

remote chance was however removed from the realm of probability by the convict problem. For as naturally to be expected the revolted Colonies shut the door against the convicts. The result was the prisons at home began to swell with their increasing numbers. In 1777 a proposal to send them to Australia was put forward by Banks, who was one among those, who had explored New South Wales along with Captain Cook. The suggestion was carried out in 1788, when the first fleet consisting of seven hundred and fifty convicts under the command of Captain Phillips landed in Botany Bay, in time to ward off the French occupation of the coast. For within a week of Phillips' landing two French ships appeared and a delay of a few days more on the part of England might have made the continent develope as a French dominion.

Foundation of Capital Towns:—With the landing of the first band of settlers at Botany Bay begins the history of Australia as a civilized land. The first few chapters of that narrative are necessarily taken up with the struggle of the infant settlement against difficulties and privations. The shores of Botany Bay were found to be unfit for occupation and Phillips was obliged to move to Port Jackson, where the foundations were laid of the town of Sydney, so named after Sydney the Secretary of State. Other settlements soon arose. Tasmania, founded as a penal settlement auxiliary to Sydney in 1803, was soon followed by the foundation of Brisbane (1826) in Queensland as a branch convict station subordinate to New South Wales. By this time, France, recovering

from the terrible effects of the Napoleonic war, began to cast envious eyes on the vacant lands in the Southern Continent. The panic of French occupation gave rise to the colonisation of Perth on the Swan River in Western Australia. The foundation of Adelaide (1836) in South Australia was also inspired by the threatened fear of French occupation and like Perth was carried out by an association of London promoters. At about the same time, Melbourne in Victoria was founded on Port Phillip.

The Central Fact about Australian Colonisation:— With the foundation of Sydney, Tasmania, Brisbane, Perth, Adelaide and Melbourne, the colonisation of Australia ended and expansion began. A notable feature of Australian colonisation is that the south was almost the centre of activity. Settlements sprang up along the south, south-east and south-west coasts. Brisbane is the only exception that proves the rule. The explanation for the neglect of the northern shore is not far to seek. The northern half lying in the tropics is not so attractive and healthy as the south. The vast desert comprising half the continent and extending over the centre and west was another factor discouraging settlement. The cool climate and the fine pastures of the south on the other hand, from the first, attracted settlers and as their numbers increased they pressed inland seeking fresh lands and pastures new.

CHAPTER II.

Expansion of Australia.

"The colonials had no European rivals to compete with in trade, no dense forests to clear, and fierce tribes to overcome: their only opposition consisted of a few skirmishes with the decadent natives or with escaped convict bush rangers. The only real hindrance to progress was the frequency of drought." Roberts.

Features of Australian Expansion:—The expansion of Australia stands in marked contrast to that of both New England and South Africa. In the first instance, the aborigines were thinly scattered over Australia and offered no stout resistance to peaceful settlement. Secondly, the rivalry and competition of European powers, which figure so much in the early history of America and South Africa, are conspicuously absent in the case of Australia. Thirdly, the pioneer and arduous work of clearing forests and preparing the virgin soil for cultivation was unknown to the Australian settler. But the recurring drought, it must be admitted, was a real obstacle to settlement and progress.

New South Wales:—The history of Australia as a British possession dates from the foundation of Sydney (1788) in New South Wales as a penal settlement. At first it comprised only a narrow strip of coast land hemmed

in by mountains. For nearly two decades the problem that the Governors had to face was the difficulty of maintaining discipline. Among the settlers there were no farmers. Cattle died and crops failed. The convicts gave much trouble. The natives molested them now and then. In time however these initial difficulties were surmounted. But until 1813 the colony was only in its infancy. The severe drought of that year was in one sense a blessing in disguise. A search was made for fresh pastures. A track was found in the Blue Mountains which had hitherto barred all access to the interior. The grass valley of the Fish River was sighted. This event gave the first impulse to inland exploration and expansion.

It was the time of Governor Macquarie, (1815-1821) whose term of office coincided with the first period of Australian expansion. His term was marked by the slow transformation of New South Wales from a penal settlement to a colony, and the opening up of the vast fertile plains west of the mountains for pastoral settlement. The best breeds of sheep were now introduced which began to thrive. "In the dry climate the wool so improved in texture that it fetched the highest price in the world's market." At the same time the discovery of coal in Newcastle brought in fresh immigrants who went to strengthen the free element in the population of the colony. "For the first half of the century the colony remained a pastoral one. The wide expanse of pasture, the absence of dangerous wild animals and the genial climate made it an ideal land for sheep raising, the stock needing but little

attention, save at lambing and shearing time."

The second period (1821-1842) in the development of New South Wales was taken up by the explorations of Sturt up the rivers Murray and Darling and of Eyre, along the barren coast from Spencer Gulf to King George's Sound. This was also the time when the system of transportation was abolished (1840). "By 1842 New South Wales was a well rounded fast growing colony, free from the curse of transportation and apparently blessed with larger areas of good land."

Tasmania 1803:—An event of importance in the history of Australian expansion was the circumnavigation of Tasmania by Bass and Flinders in 1799. It was only a prelude to occupation. Tasmania started as a convict station. The first batch of criminals arrived in 1803. The progress of the colony was rather slow and for nearly a quarter of a century, it remained the home of the more dangerous among the criminals. In 1810, the total population did not exceed one thousand three hundred. That year there were fresh arrivals of free settlers. Bush-ranging was rife and both life and property were insecure. The evil however was eradicated under the firm rule of Governor Arthur. At the same time the aborigines who were a source of trouble to the sheep farmers were deported wholesale to Flinders Island. In 1825 Tasmania became independent of New South Wales and in 1853 it ceased to be a convict settlement.

Victoria:—The work of exploration started by Sturt was continued by Mitchell. The country he traversed

was richer, more temperate and beautiful than any he had seen before. Squatters from Sydney followed his track. The result was the foundation of Melbourne on Port Phillip. The fine pastoral areas in Gippsland, which is the richest agricultural region yet discovered in Australia, began to attract a large number of emigrants from Great Britain. There followed a period of agitation for separation from the control of New South Wales and after a protracted struggle Victoria was made a separate colony. The Victorians were not idle. The exploration of the resources of the continent appealed to the patriotic instincts of the ambitious men of Melbourne. An expedition started under the leadership of Burke, who quarrelled with his men and followed by three of his companions made a dash for the Gulf of Carpentaria. On their return, however, they perished. The news of their disappearance led to relief expeditions, which making for the same goal from north, east, south, and south-west opened up vast portions of the continent and "set the various Colonies agape for the possession of such valuable land."

Queensland:—Queensland has its origin as an offshoot of Sydney. Its history dates from 1826 when a branch penal settlement subordinate to the mother-Colony was established at Brisbane on Moreton Bay. It made no headway for a long time and fell into disuse as an exclusive convict station. The population in 1841 only numbered two hundred. In 1842 it was thrown open to free settlement. The colony began to prosper with the

advent of squatters who settled at Moreton Bay. Population increased and the country came to be explored. Leichardt (1843-45) starting from the Darling Downs reached Cape York Peninsula and Van Dieman's Gulf. His expedition and that of Mitchell (1845-46) revealed extensive and excellent pastoral areas for settlement.

South Australia:—"The settlement of South Australia involved a very interesting problem is political economy". Edward Gibbon Wakefield was the author of the new scheme of founding colonies entirely free from slavery and penal servitude. The site chosen for settlement was Adelaide, named in honour of William IV's Queen. The first band of settlers despatched direct from London arrived in 1836. The land question threatened the colony with bankruptcy and from this situation it was rescued by Governor Grey. "Speculation was followed by a period of distress and confusion, but from its origin as the venture of private enterprise South Australia passed through orderly stage of evolution up to the zenith of democratic government."

The explorations of Eyre and Sturt revealed a permanent barrier of waterless desert on the north and west. Consequently the South Australians made most of the strip between the Murray and Gulf St. Vincent. "So the colony small in area, and occupied in smaller holdings than its neighbours, became the home of a calm but extreme democracy." Expedition after expedition set out to explore the central regions and after repeated failures ended in the grand achievement of Stuart who reached

Port Darwin in the north. The discovery of copper brought prosperity to the colony. Later the Northern Territory with its capital Palmerston was placed under the charge of South Australia.

Western Australia:—Western Australia owes its origin to the rumoured French occupation of the west. The Swan River settlement which became the nucleus of the vast province was the outcome of a direct expedition from London. "The settlement struggled on for many years, valuable only as an object lesson in wrong methods and as an obstacle to French annexation." Lands were freely distributed among the settlers and the colony was exempted from the system of transportation. But there was no supply of labour to cultivate the vast tracts of land. By 1840 the population of the colony was only four thousand six hundred and twenty two. The colonists saw that their prosperity depended on convict labour. In 1841 their request that the colony be made a penal settlement was granted. Twenty seven years later at the unanimous request of the other colonies the system was abolished. The interior was systematically explored and "the vast superiority of Eastern Australia to all the rest is the most important practical lesson taught by land explorations of the last half century."

Gold Rushes:—The year 1851 marks an epoch in Australian history. For that year witnessed the first discovery of gold in the continent. Reckless and adventurous spirits flocked to gold diggings. There was one such rush in 1848 to the mines of California.

Among the adventurers was an Australian who perceived a similarity between the soil of California and that of his native country, New South Wales. He returned and discovered gold in the Bathurst district. Men of every description, farmers, labourers and townsmen of all profession swarmed to the gold centres. The excitement spread to Victoria. Melbourne became almost empty. Tasmania was deserted. A swarm of emigrants from Europe rushed to the diggings seized with the gold-fever. The arrivals averaged two thousand a week. Meanwhile, Victoria having been depleted, offered a substantial reward for the discovery of gold in the province, and not long after, richer fields were revealed at Ballarat. This brought Victoria its population. Gold has been found since in every province. South Australia alone has no direct benefit from gold. To the mines of Coolgardie, Kalgoorlie and Kimberley Western Australia owes its prosperity and much of its recent development. Everywhere the announcement of the precious metal was followed by an inflow of a stream of immigrants.

Results of Gold discovery:—The newcomers to gold centres often included among them law-breakers of the worst type, who began to prey upon the carelessness of the honest workers. The benefit of the discovery of gold was not confined only to the colonies where it was found. Tasmania had much to gain from a loss of a third of its population, since it got rid of the most undesirable characters. Moreover the demand for Tasmanian vegetables and timber at the diggings brought about an

increase in their price. Australian wheat fared likewise. New South Wales profited both by gold diggings and by the sale of cattle and sheep to the Victorian diggers.

The new adventurers made life in one colony different from life in another. So far the whole of Australia was a pastoral country. "But the gold discoveries brought to Victoria thousands of towns-folk whose tendency was to revert to their old trades when the rush was over; while in New South Wales, where the fields were scattered and far from the coast, most of the diggers were settlers' sons who went back to the land when they had won gold enough. South Australia itself lacking in gold took to growing wheat for the Victorian diggers. Tasmania, ridding herself of the worst as well as of the most active elements of its population, settled down into a sleepy hollow for many years; Queensland remained almost purely pastoral."

From a pastoral country in the primitive stages of civilization, Australia became a civilised nation. The construction of railways ushered in an era of rapid development. The cultural side also began to receive attention. The influence of gold discovery on politics was rather profound. "The constitutions which, but for the gold discoveries, would have been drawn up by and for a squatters' oligarchy, were now so shaped, that with little alteration, they have lasted through the successive developments of one of the most democratic governments in the world."

Resume:—To recapitulate, Sydney, 'the Queen of the South' expanded into New South Wales, the mother of States and gave birth to Tasmania, Queensland and Victoria. Tasmania is the most beautiful part of the Commonwealth. Queensland is distinctly pastoral in character. Victoria, though the smallest is the most thickly populated State of the Commonwealth. South Australia and Western Australia, each founded under different circumstances and based on divergent principles stand apart from the rest. The one, the granary of the Commonwealth, is mainly an agricultural country while the other owes its prosperity to gold.

CHAPTER IV.

Stages in the Growth of Government by Council to Responsible Government.

"The three great influences which have moulded Australia are:—(a) the climate and the physical features of the country; (b) the fact that it was first of all a convict settlement; (c) the gold-rushes." Pollard.

New South Wales:—The First Period (1788-1823), Military Rule:—Some of the greatest events in the world's history are the result of chance. So was the colonisation of Australia. The loss of the American Colonies turned British attention to the Southern Continent, where the first settlement was founded on Port Jackson towards the close of the eighteenth century. The first Governor of the colony was Phillip; under whose wise and firm rule the initial difficulties were overcome. For the first twenty-five years of its history from 1788 to 1813 the colony was placed under military rule of the severest type. The duty of the Governor was to keep control over the convicts and to maintain order. At first the free element in the population was almost negligible. With the advent of Macquarie as Governor, affairs began to take a different turn. The country was explored and the settlement expanded. Before his departure the free settlers far out-numbered the convicts.

The Second Period (1823–42) Crown Colony:—The period of expansion concurred with the beginnings of self-government. With the opening up of the country west of the mountains for pastoral settlement, and with the increase of population, the military rule was found to be inadequate. A measure of representative government was conceded in 1823, in the shape of a Legislative Council of nominated members. It was purely an advisory Council, which the Governor was required to consult but not always obey. The system of transportation was discontinued in 1840. Up to 1842 New South Wales was administered as a Crown Colony.

History of the other States up to 1842:—Meanwhile Tasmania was established as a convict station and came to be governed as a dependency of New South Wales. As time went on free settlers began to arrive. Under the Governorship of Arthur it prospered and began an agitation for separation from New South Wales. In 1824 it was constituted a Crown Colony with a Governor-General and an advisory Council. The convict system was, however, continued up to 1853 when it was abolished. Unlike Tasmania, Western Australia and South Australia were the outcome of direct expeditions from London. The former was founded in 1829, the latter in 1834. Both equally exhibit one common novel feature, namely, the dissociation from the convict system. The history of both the states runs on parallel lines to some extent. They were both free from the control of the mother-Colony and both alike were from the first administered as Crown Colonies. The history of Victoria and

Queensland presents a contrast to that of Western and South Australia. They have their origin as penal establishments, subsidiary and subordinate to Sydney. The rich pastoral and agricultural areas, Geelong and Gippsland in Victoria drew in a stream of settlers both from Sydney and England. From the first the colonists at Port Phillip had not taken kindly to their connection with Sydney and there followed an agitation for separation. The settlement at Brisbane which developed into Queensland had a chequered career until 1840, when it was thrown open for free settlement. In time, it began to agitate for independence.

Third Period. (1842—1855.) The next thirteen years that followed 1832 witnessed the progress of pastoral and agricultural settlements, as well as an extension of legislative privileges. Australian politics was affected by the history of Canada. Free political life and the convict system are poles asunder. Consequently, the first step towards responsible government was the discontinuance of the practice of transportation. A strong agitation against it led by Wentworth, and Sir Henry Parkes brought relief to New South Wales in 1840. But until 1849 and 53, Queensland and Tasmania respectively, continued to absorb Britain's annual supply of criminals. Convict labour kept the settlement in Western Australia going until 1868.

The Constitution of 1842 for the first time, introduced into New South Wales the principle of election to the Legislative Council. Representative government was

inaugurated by the enlargement of the Council, two-thirds of which consisted of elected members. The Constitution afforded training in the art of government by representative institutions.

Gold :—The discovery of gold in 1851, changed the phase of Australian history and precipitated the grant of responsible government. The allurement of the yellow metal brought in a swarm of emigrants from all parts of the world. It depleted Tasmania and South Australia, and led to the rapid development of the States. Victoria was made an independent colony in 1851 and its population more than trebled in the course of a few years. Among the new arrivals were political discontents from Europe and ex-convicts from Tasmania. There were endless disputes about mining licenses and land tenure. Riots broke out. The disturbance of social, industrial and commercial affairs during the first two or three years of the gold era was very great. The administrative machinery of each State was found inadequate to deal in a satisfactory manner with the complex situation. Consequently the Imperial Parliament called for proposals of reform from the various Colonies. In 1854 full responsible government was established in New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania. The same boon was conferred upon Queensland in 1859, when it entered upon its independent existence, and on Western Australia as late as 1890. In each of the States the Crown is represented by a Governor. There is a Cabinet responsible to the Legislature consisting of two Houses. In New

South Wales and Queensland the members of the Second Chamber are nominated for life, without limit of numbers nominally by the Governor but virtually by the Ministry. In the other colonies they are elected. In broad outlines in the creation of an Upper and Lower Chamber and in the introduction of the Cabinet System of Government, the constitutions of the different States agreed, but in points of details they differed. The era of self-governing institutions heralded a period of rapid material progress.

Fourth Period 1856-1900:—The grant of responsible government left Australia free to work out her own destiny. In the early years of the last period the land question was the foremost problem which all State Parliaments had to tackle. The question of immigration was equally important. It was a double problem, (1) to find the right sort of settlers, (2) to exclude the Asiatics. The rush for gold brought an influx of coloured races. The Chinese thronged to gold-mining centres. From the first the Australians set their faces against Chinese immigration. Anti-Chinese riots broke out. But the absence of a federal authority to enforce a common decree postponed the final solution of that problem. Secular education as opposed to religious instruction was another subject which the States had to deal with. The introduction of railways simplified the problem of communication. "The country benefited enormously; traffic across the Dividing Range on the inland side of which lie the large areas of fertile soil, has been simplified and cheapened, the produce of rich mines in out-of-the-way places has

been easily brought to the seaboard, and the necessaries of life made readily procurable by the miners." Round the question of protection *versus* revenue tariff, there was bitter strife between States. In the end protection was adopted in all the States except New South Wales. The history of Australia since 1873 is mainly the story of her industrial progress.

CHAPTER V.

The Commonwealth of Australia.

"The Commonwealth is in its strictest sense a federal government. It owes its birth to the desire for national unity which pervades the whole of Australia, combined with the determination on the part of the several colonies to retain as States of the Commonwealth a large measure of independence as may be found compatible with the recognition of the Australian nationality."

Dicey.

The Movement towards Federation:—"No more in the case of Australia than in that of Canada did responsible government form the final stage of constitutional evolution." The increase of population consequent on the discovery of gold created new problems. The Chinese came in large numbers and the increase of the Asiatic races alarmed the Australians who were more than ever anxious to exclude them. But they were hampered by the fact that there was no constituted common authority to ensure uniformity of opinion and action on matters common to all the States. The jealousies and quarrels among the States themselves only served to weaken them as against the foreigner. Australia was a house divided against itself and the need of united action was brought home to the colonies when France and Germany occupied some of the islands north and east of the continent. The

new menace coupled with the problem of immigration forced the States to embrace federation. If they should successfully resist the intrusion of foreign elements and preserve the purity of their race, the Australians found it essential first to overcome their separatist tendency. The federation of the colonies beyond enabling them to maintain supremacy in the Pacific, would strengthen their position among the commonwealth of nations. Thus arguments for federation were pressing and with the growth of a self-conscious, ambitious nation the subject came to the forefront of Australian politics. Canada set the example. On the motion of Sir Henry Parkes a conference of the representatives of the Colonies met at Melbourne to consider the question of union. A national convention consisting of delegates from all the Colonies met at Adelaide in 1897 and drafted a Bill for the consideration of the several Parliaments. It again met in the following year at Melbourne to consider the suggestions of the legislatures and with certain alterations the Draft Bill was adopted by the States and submitted to the Imperial Parliament. In 1900, the British Parliament passed the Federal Constitution and the Commonwealth of Australia came into existence on the New Year Day of 1901.

Government:—The six Australian Colonies now form a single state for many purposes. The British Crown is represented by a Governor-General. The Legislature consists of two Houses:—a Senate and a House of Representatives. To the Senate, the States voting as

a single electorate send six representatives apiece for a term of six years. But every three years half the senators retire. The House of Representatives consists of members elected from the States, the number depending upon the population. In no case should the number be less than five. The Federal Parliament has cognisance of external matters such as imports and exports, immigration and emigration, defence, trade and commerce, post and telegraph, patents and copyrights, marriage and divorce, taxation and currency. All powers not transferred by the Constitution to the Federal Government belong to the States. Disputes between States and the Commonwealth are settled by a High Court which has appellate jurisdiction over all State tribunals. The executive authority is vested in the Governor-General who is to be assisted by an Executive Council appointed by him. The Ministers have to be members of the Federal Parliament. Here is a departure from the ordinary practice and working of federalism. Whether the Cabinet System would suit the federal arrangement is a matter for the future of the Australian Commonwealth to prove. Each of the States has a Legislature of two Houses. The Lower House in all cases consists of members elected by all adults. The Upper House in the case of New South Wales and Queensland consists of members nominated for life. In the other States it is a body elected according to property qualification. The States have also the British type of the Cabinet System. The Governors are appointed by the Crown.

Difference between the Constitution of Canada & that of Australia:—The Australian Act is different from the British North America Act of 1867 in that, while in the former certain specific powers are allotted to the Federal Government and the residual powers are left to individual States, in the latter the specific powers are assigned to the separate-States and the residual powers belong to the Federal Government. This distinction emphasises the fact that under the Commonwealth Constitution the colonies enjoy greater internal freedom than the provinces of Canada, where the interests of the Government have been safe-guarded. Another point of difference lies in the relation between the Daughter and the Mother. While in Canada an amendment to the constitution must be done only by an Act of the Imperial Parliament, in the case of Australia it can be effected by the electorates of the Commonwealth. Therefore, the former is more directly subject to the control of the Imperial Parliament than the latter. In another sense the Dominion of Canada is less under the control of the British Parliament, since the relation between the Provinces of the Dominion and the Imperial Government is not so close as that between the States of the Commonwealth of Australia and the Imperial Parliament.

The Dictation Test:—The Commonwealth has elected to remain a "White" Australia. The problem of peopling vacant lands is by no means an easy one. In the matter of encouraging white immigration she has to

compete with Canada which offers better inducement. The door of immigration, on the other hand, is now practically closed to the coloured races since the Dictation Test imposed upon them is of a kind that they must needs fail.

Services:—Australia was not behind Canada to shoulder responsibilities and share the burdens of the Empire. The Federation once accomplished, she began to take a lively interest in the question of the defence of the Empire. At the time of the Boer War the Australians displayed their attachment to the mother-country by sending large bodies of troops to South Africa. The example of Canada was visible when she subscribed to the policy of Imperial Preference. In 1909, she adopted conscription by which all young men were compelled to undergo military training. The object was to put herself in readiness for defence in times of national danger. The Australians took a step in advance of Canada by building a large naval squadron of their own to help the British Navy in its onerous task of defending the Empire. During the Great War she rendered signal services to the Empire by raising a national army in order to help the Allies to fight the war to a successful termination.

CHAPTER VI.

Geography of New Zealand.

"Blessed with a climate resembling that of England New Zealand has been properly regarded as the future Britain of the southern hemisphere." Historians' History of the World.

Situation:—New Zealand comprising not only the North and South Islands but also a group of neighbouring isles, lies in the Pacific ocean, separated from the mainland of Australia by a thousand miles of sea. Her history is therefore independent of the history of Australia. Though discovered by Tasman in 1642 and later visited and surveyed by Captain Cook between 1769 and 1779, she remained, in spite of advantages of climate and soil, unoccupied until the middle of the nineteenth century. Distance will perhaps partly explain the delay. Her situation in the Pacific was another handicap. The Atlantic was the centre of all activity in the preceding centuries and the Pacific began to claim serious attention from the time when limits were placed on expansion elsewhere. But the Britain of the South appears to have a great future before her, judged from the increased importance of the Pacific and the rivalry thereof between the East and the West.

Surface: North Island:—New Zealand is extremely mountainous. Plains are few and small. The

central part of North Island is traversed by parallel ranges which are mostly volcanic. In many places volcanic action has rendered the scenery very beautiful and striking. The central regions of the island are a wonderland, being the seat of hot and warm springs, pools and geysers and are resorted to by tourists and invalids. The volcanic districts abound in picturesque lakes, the largest being Lake Taupo, situated in the centre and drained by the longest river Waikato. The middle parts of the east and west coast contain two most valuable tracts. A peninsula runs out in the north.

South Island:—If the North Island is distinguished as a land of volcanoes, the South Island is characterised by ice. "The western half of the South Island may be summed up as a mountainous country, fit chiefly for miners, shepherds and timber cutters and in places not even for these. Here are the same grand features carved out by frosts, ice, streams and avalanches as we have in Switzerland and other Alpine countries; while the rocky coast is cut by sea, into picturesque promontories and fiords like those of Norway." Considerable tracts on the east are level countries, the largest of these being the Canterbury Plains.

Says Pollard, "It will always be a wonder why the New Zealand Company commenced their operations in the North and not in the South Island, which appears much more suited for pioneer settlement. The open grass country was ready for pasture and could be tilled without the labour of clearing the forest; the Maori population was

so sparse that a native difficulty could hardly arise. In fact, it would be difficult to find a spot in the world where the Wakefield system would have had a better chance of being carried out in its entirety. Yet for many years the whole South Island with the exception of a strip adjoining Cook Straits, remained void." There is perhaps an explanation for what appears at first as rather strange. The lack of good harbours on the west coast facing Australia was a drawback. New Zealand has numerous inlets, but her harbours are inconveniently distributed. The south-west of South Island is provided with many sounds. "Their combination of mountainous grandeur and lavish vegetation makes them at least rivals of Norway or Alaska and as anchorages they are not easy to surpass. But they give access to nothing better than storm-beaten and well-nigh uninhabitable mountains." Above these sounds the country offers better prospects, but harbours are singularly lacking and there are only mouths of bar-bound rivers. The same is the case with the North Island. The east coast, on the other hand, is well supplied with harbours. But they are farthest away on the side opposite to that of general approach. These facts have therefore considerably influenced the history of New Zealand.

Rivers and Harbours:—The islands abound in rivers which are never dried up. The nature of the country through which they flow gives them the character of mountain torrents. They are, therefore, of no use for navigation. The Waikato which flows north is however

an exception. Rivers are always aids to exploration and settlement and the lack of waterways in the case of New Zealand had its effect on her growth. The east and north coasts are well provided with harbours, the chief of which are Auckland, Wellington, Napier, Port Lyttleton, Dunedin and Port Chalmers.

Climate:—New Zealand lying in the temperate zone,. between almost the same latitudes as Japan and Italy in the northern hemisphere, has a healthy and an equable climate. "To both these countries it has a certain structural resemblance, a long mountain system being in each case flanked by younger volcanic rocks." But in point of climate, New Zealand has greater affinity to Italy than to Japan The northern portion of North Island enjoys the Mediterranean type of climate with its long summers and wet winters. The climate of the rest of the country is that of Western Europe. The westerly winds bring rain throughout the year. The Southern Alps deprive the rain-bearing winds of their moisture, so that while the western slopes have heavy rainfall, the grassy cultivated plains of the interior are dry. The distribution of rain in the case of the North Island is more uniform. It was climate that overcame obstacles to settlement and offered the best inducement to migration. It more than compensated for the drawbacks of her position, viz., isolation and distance.

Vegetation:—The western half, until cleared for settlement in recent years, was clothed with dense forests. Even at present forests cover a large area of both the

islands. Kauri pine, evergreen and ferns are the most common trees. Resin is obtained from Kauri pine.

Seep-farming & Agriculture: — The eastern half of the islands, where they are generally open and covered with grass, is fertile and well adapted for agriculture. There are fine pasture lands in both the islands. The Canterbury Plains afford splendid advantages for sheep-farming which is the chief occupation of the people. Both climate and soil favour the cultivation of the ordinary cereals. Mutton is frozen and exported.

Mineral Wealth :—Gold and coal mining are next in importance to agriculture. Gold is found in North Island, in the sands of the Clutha River and other rivers of the South Island, in the north-west round Hokitika, Greymouth and Westport. Silver, copper, tin, iron, coal, petroleum and sulphur are also found.

Conclusion :—"So far as the natural features of a country tend to produce a fine race of men, New Zealand has the advantage of Australia. Australia has hills and rivers, woods and fertile lands, but unless in the heated plains of the interior, which are sublime in their desolation, it has nothing to touch the imagination, nothing to develop varieties of character. In New Zealand there are mountain ranges grander than the giant bergs of Norway; there are glaciers and waterfalls for the hardy hillmen; there are sheep walks for the shepherd of Salisbury plain; there are rich farm-lands for the peasant yeomen, and the coasts, with their inlets and infinite variety are a nursery for seamen, who will carry forward the traditions of the old land."

CHAPTER VII.

Colonisation of New Zealand.

"New Zealand is especially interesting to us because it is a group of islands of almost the same size as the British Islands, situated in the South Temperate Zone, at almost exactly the opposite side of the world to us. It is that part of the earth where the people's feet are opposite our own—our Antipodes."

Discovery and Settlement:—New Zealand was first discovered by Tasman in 1642. It was quite forgotten until surveyed and mapped out with great care and accuracy by Captain Cook who first visited it in 1799. The Union Jack was hoisted in 1770 on a hill overlooking Queen Charlotte Sound. But Great Britain took no cognisance of this action for the next seventy years. It was occasionally visited by traders, some of whom made it their home. Samuel Marsden, an Aglican Chaplain, established a mission and made numerous converts. As the native Maoris embraced Christianity their inter-tribal wars died out. But till 1830 the white element was negligible. After that year a change came over New Zealand. A stream of settlers began to flow. There was, however, no organised government and lawlessness increased with the increase of white adventurers. Between 1825 and 1835 colonisation was projected. Edward Gibbon Wakefield formulated a scheme and

founded the New Zealand Company with the object of colonising the country. At about the same time the French resolved to annex the islands, but they were forestalled by the New Zealand Company which despatched the first band of settlers to Port Nicholson in Cook Straits named later on as Wellington. As soon as the Home Government understood the intention of the French, they authorised Captain Hobson to take possession of the islands. He landed in Wellington and entered into a treaty, known as the Treaty of Waitangi, with the native chiefs and hoisted the British flag at Auckland in the North Island. (1840). The English were just in time, for the French arrived a few days late. Almost at the same time the South Island was occupied.

The Maoris:—New Zealand, when it was discovered by the Europeans was thinly peopled by a set of brown people known as the Maoris. The North Island contained nearly all the Maoris. They are intelligent, physically active, tall and well-built. They lived in tribes and cultivated the land. They were a set of cannibals constantly engaged in tribal wars. They were ruled by chiefs and their religion was a kind of polytheism. It was from this ferocious race that Captain Hobson obtained the Treaty of Waitangi by which the Maoris put themselves under the protection of the Queen. The treaty was important in so far as it contained two conditions. In the first place it was a recognition of British sovereignty. Secondly it was an undertaking on the part of the British Government to

respect the territorial rights of the natives. It meant that no bargaining in lands could be made between individuals, but that the community alone could sell and the Governor alone could buy. The treaty gave the Maoris a *locus standi* in their own land and a place among the subject races of the Empire.

Initial Troubles:—Troubles arose when the terms of the treaty were violated. The New Zealand Company interested themselves in promoting emigration. They made purchases of land without the sanction of Government and despatched settlers. New Plymouth was settled in 1841. Nelson in the South Island was founded in the following year. Acquisitions of land went on in contravention of the treaty of Waitangi. As might naturally be expected, this brought the colonies into conflict with the Maoris who were determined to maintain their rights and resist the English advance. Shots were fired. Guns and troops were imported from Australia. The Maoris were also organised and ready to fight to a man. A crisis was fortunately averted by the appointment of Sir George Grey as Governor (1815). "Few men have played so prominent a part in British Colonial history as Sir George Grey. Besides the work he performed in South Africa and Australia, he twice filled the office of the Governor of New Zealand and afterwards became superintendent of a province, a prominent politician and a Premier of the Colony." He had great ability and possessed charming manners. He redressed the grievances of the Maoris and imposed a heavy penalty on those who

violated the treaty rights. The Maoris were pacified. Grey's integrity and firmness won their love. During his regime the colonisation of Middle Island was accomplished. Otago was founded by a Scotchman. The adjoining land of Canterbury became a settlement of the Church of England in 1850. The same year the affairs of the Company were wound up.

The Maori Wars:—"It was an ill day for the Native race when Sir George Grey left New Zealand." With his departure the affairs took a different turn. The Maori question was unsettled. In 1860 they still owned the greater part of North Island. The English were confined to coastal regions. With the increase of population the English settlers began to encroach upon lands belonging to the natives. It was natural that they should stoutly resist this attempt to extend the white domain. In the year 1860, war broke out between the two communities. For ten years it raged with varying success. The position of the English in North Island was jeopardised. The Home Government tried Sir George Grey a second time as Governor with no better result. For a time there were signs of the war abating; soon, however, the operations were continued. The Maoris tried gorilla tactics and the war dragged on drearily. At last in 1871, they were forced to submit and since then they have remained at peace. They were assigned large tracts of land on which white people are not allowed to settle. They were also given six seats in the New Zealand Parliament.

Gold:—The period following the solution of the Maori problem was one of internal development for the islands. The discovery of gold in Otago in 1861 and richer deposits on the west coast and Auckland in 1865 led to an influx of population. Trade developed and the colony grew rapidly. "It has frequently happened elsewhere that mines have been found in districts where there is nothing else to make life attractive; hence, when they are exhausted, the country is deserted. The mines in New Zealand are in a healthy climate, amidst beautiful scenery, near fertile lands, well suited for agriculture and pasture. When the rush is over, and most of the miners drift away, some remain as settlers and add to the permanent prosperity of the country."

Constitutional Evolution:—The history of New Zealand as a Bristish Colony was as independent of the history of Australia as it was dissociated from the convict system. It was in the natural order of things that the personal rule of Governors should have subsisted up to 1852. In the task of government the Governor was helped by a Council nominated by him. Thus it was governed as a purely Crown Colony from 1840 to 1852. With the increase of their number the colonists began to clamour for political privileges. The Constitution Act of 1852 conferred the boon of responsible government. The Act divided the Colony into six provinces—Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury and Otago. Each of the provinces was placed under a superintendent and an elected Council. The Govern-

ment of the whole Colony was vested in a Governor and a Parliament, consisting of two Houses,–an Upper Chamber, nominated by the Governor, and a House of Representatives elected under a system of man-hood suffrage. Representation was given also to the Maoris. The Act came into force in 1853. A permanent Land Court was established in 1862, with power to investigate all titles to land according to native customary law. In 1865 the seat of Government was shifted from Auckland to Wellington. Plural voting was abolished in 1826. Franchise was extended to women. The Government is becoming socialist. "Like the Commonwealth of Australia the Dominion of New Zealand is making experiments, social, economic and political, which by way of warning or example cannot fail to be of increasing interest and importance to the mother country."

Progress After:—The progress made by the Colony in recent years, except for a brief set back in 1879, following trade depressions, has been rapid. It is no wonder that with a healthy climate and an enlightened population New Zealand should have taken such rapid strides of progress. The decline of the Maoris led to the increase of the British element which in turn led to expansion. In 1887, the Kermedec, the Cook and other tropical islands were annexed. New Zealand has captured the market for frozen meat, butter and cheese. Her out-turn of gold is not at all a negligible quantity. To-day she walks abreast of the other Dominions and has always displayed a readiness to shoulder responsibility.

In the South African War her zeal and devotion to the cause of the Empire were not surpassed by any other Colony. Even before the South African War, she arranged for the defence of her coast in 1884 by purchasing a small flotilla of ships. In 1907 she was raised to the dignity of 'Dominion.' Two years later, New Zealand fell in with the proposals for contribution to the Imperial Navy. In the late war, she has not been behind any other Dominon to fight for the Empire, which is a tangible proof of the strength of the tie which binds the mother-country and the daughter Colonies.

BOOK VII.

History of South Africa.

CHAPTER I.

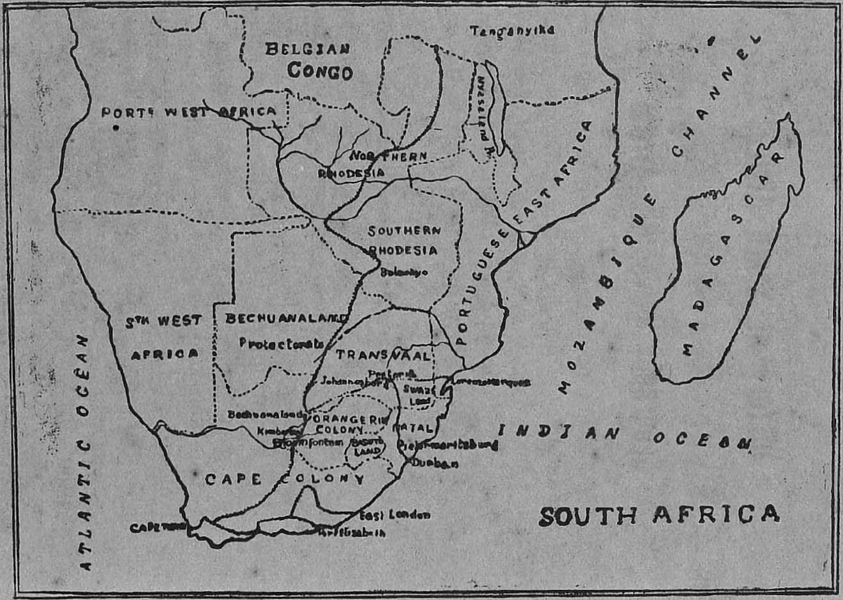
Geography of South Africa

"South Africa guards the ocean-route to India and Australia and must be held by Britain at all costs. Should the Suez Canal be closed by European war, the unity of the Empire would depend on the command of this ocean route; which is therefore of the highest possible strategic importance." Pollard.

Physical Features :—The whole of South Africa has the appearance of an inverted saucer. The mountains run parallel to the coast. The land rises in successive terraces to considerable height. In the margin between the mountains and the sea lie the coastal plains, which are comparatively narrow. The south-eastern extremity of the table-land lies close to the sea. "The general character of South African topography is fairly uniform. Flat-topped surfaces with steep sides everywhere predominate." Of the mountain ridges the most important are, the Great Karroo, the Nieuveld, and the Drakensburg. The area includes the Kalahari desert.

Shut off from Europe by the great Sahara on the north, and handicapped on the other sides by the massive

SOUTH AFRICA



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mountain barriers, the total absence of navigable waterways and unhealthy nature of the coastal strips, the Dark Continent was for a very long time but a geographical expression. The systematic exploration of the Continent was only the achievement of the nineteenth century. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the European nations contended for territorial and commercial rights in the West and in the East, while the vast Continent so close to them was almost entirely neglected. If she had possessed the attractions of the West or the East and had offered sufficient inducement to commercial activity and settlement, the wars of the eighteenth century would have had for their objective, settlement and trade in Africa; and South Africa with her strategic position as commanding the sea-route to the East might have filled no unimportant place in the narrative of those wars.

Rivers and Harbours:—Of the rivers of South Africa, the Orange, the Vaal, a tributary of the Orange, and the Limpopo are the most important. The Orange river forms the boundary between Cape Colony and the Orange River Colony. The Vaal, divides the latter from the Transvaal. The Limpopo separates the Transvaal from Southern Rhodesia. These rivers are mountain torrents interrupted by rapids in their course and by sand banks at their mouths. Consequently they are of little use for navigation. The problem of internal communication is still further complicated by other factors. The sea-board is inhospitable and the harbours are mostly exposed and unprotected. Saldana Bay is the

only good natural harbour in the west, but it is placed at a disadvantage by lack of fresh water. Table Bay though open is protected by a break-water and commodious docks. Simons Bay, in a corner of False Bay is a British naval station. Of the other harbours of importance are Port Elizabeth, called the Liverpool of South Africa, East London and Port Natal. To say the least, this lack of facilities for communication stayed the growth of South Africa.

Climate and Rainfall:—The tropic of Capricorn divides South Africa into almost two equal parts. Broadly speaking the climate is healthy, hot and dry. The interior suffers from drought. Notwithstanding its elevation the land gets heated in summer owing to lack of cloud and moisture. The dry air tempered by sea-breezes is extremely good to persons having weak lungs. The south-east trade winds bring rain to the east coast. The mountains lying along the coast, deprive the winds of their moisture, so that the regions of greatest rainfall are the eastern slopes. From the south-east towards the west, it diminishes rapidly. The centre and west are comparatively rainless and form a semi-desert area. The south-west corner, however, gets from twenty to forty inches of rain. A study of the growth of white settlement reveals the influence of climate on the history of South Africa. Settlements were confined to areas where water was not scarce. The south-west being better supplied with water, the south-east and east being regions of heavy rainfall, attracted settlers.

Minerals:—The growth of South Africa was hastened by the discovery and development of her mineral resources. Griqualand West has rich diamond fields, to which the town of Kimberley owes its origin and importance. Cape Colony yields coal and copper. The copper mines of Okiep are among the richest in the world. Natal and the Transvaal produce gold, besides coal, copper, lead, marble, salt-petre and alum. The gold and diamond mines have in fact shaped the history of Natal, the Transvaal, and Bechuanaland. The grouping of population has been determined by the location of gold and diamond deposits. Johannesburg, the premier city of South Africa owes its opulence and greatness to gold and other minerals.

Flora and Fauna:—Forests are to be found in the south and east where the rainfall is great. Natal enjoys a delightful climate and is so rich in vegetation that it is called the garden of South Africa. "The resources of Cape Colony are only pastoral and agricultural." The Orange River Colony is also important for agriculture and stock-rearing, while the Transvaal is more a pastoral than an agricultural country. On the whole, the inland table-land region, which is dry, cannot compare with the pastures of Australia. Towards the west the conditions change to desert. Wheat, barley, rye and potatoes are grown. European fruits have been introduced and are thriving well.

Wild animals are becomning rare in the south. The ostrich is valued for its feathers. In Cape Colony there

are several farms where hundreds of these birds are kept. Cattle and sheep are reared in the plains formerly assigned to wild-beasts. The African farmer has many enemies. Cattle and sheep die by thousands of deadly diseases. Drought kills very many, There is a mysterious disease fatal to horses. The tsetse fly is an enemy of the beasts of burden and where it infests the explorer runs the risk of losing his horse and oxen. The locust is another pest which lays waste the country through which it passes. Under such circumstances it is no wonder South Africa compared with Australia had rather a slow growth.

The Natives:—The natives of South Africa fall into two races. The Hottentots, the aboriginal inhabitants were found by European settlers in large numbers in the south and west. The Bushmen inhabiting the south-west are akin to the Hottentots. In the north and east they were displaced by a race of warriors known as the Kaffirs. The Zulus are the most warlike among the Kaffirs. These natives interrupted the growth of the country and impeded its progress. In this respect the story of South Africa is different from that of Australia where the English settlers had not to contend against any fierce native tribe. Peaceful progress was ruled out in the case of South Africa.

Railways:—Internal communication is chiefly dependent on railways which connect the leading towns and ports. Three lines start from Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London but the main one is that which

runs through the gold and diamond mining districts and reaches Natal by a circuitous route. It was lack of facilities for communication, which, as in Australia isolated the various groups of settlements, occasioned the rise of separate States and postponed their union.

Conclusion:—With the singular exception of her mineral wealth, South Africa has nothing to boast of by way of natural advantages. The tabular configurations have made access to the interior difficult if not impossible, Her rivers are more obstacles than aids to communication. The desert and semi-desert areas present greater difficulties and these are aggravated by the prevalence of diseases which carry away the transport animals. The cost of fuel and the scarcity of water increase the running expense of railways. The centres of population are generally small and are situated at great distances from each other. Lastly, the export trade is not remunerative since the leading articles of export are small in bulk and weight.

CHAPTER II.

Colonisation and Expansion of South Africa.

"In all the previous centuries, Africa, nominally a continent had been little more than a coast line. Egypt had run her course in touch with Asia rather than with Africa. The north-coast of Africa had been but the southern fringe of the Mediterranean basin. West Africa had been a series of headlands on the way to the Cape. East Africa, in like manner had been but the western bound of the Indian Ocean, dominated by Arab influence. At the southern end was a peninsula wholly detached from the main Continent. For the first time in history Africa took status as a continent and in this great awakening area, awakening just as steam and telegraphy were coming into power something like a new British Empire was brought into being." Charles Lucas.

Discovery and Settlement:—The northern portion of Africa from the earliest times had, as a result of its contact with Europe, participated in the active life of the world. The bulk of the Continent, however, stood outside the pale of civilization. Nothing was known of the southern peninsula until the Cape of Storms was first discovered in 1487 by the Portuguese navigator Bartholomew Diaz. Eleven years later, Vasco de Gama rounded the Cape renamed the Cape of Good Hope. The Portuguese were not alive to its strategic

and commercial importance and abandoned it for stations on the east and west coasts. The first Englishman to sight the Cape was Sir Francis Drake, (1580) who describes it as "the fairest cape in the whole circumference of the earth." James Lancaster was the first Englishman to land in Table Bay (1591), and the first to take possession of it in the name of James I, King of England, were two British sea-captains Andrew Shilling and Humphrey Fitzherbert. But James was indifferent and the Home Government was unprepared to embark upon a career of expansion. The Dutch East India Company discerned the value of the Cape as a half-way house to the East and in 1652 occupied Table Bay.

The Boers:—As a victualling station Cape Town served admirably. The first settlers were the servants of the Company. Very soon, however, free settlers were encouraged and the Germans began to arrive. With the importation of negro labour the Colony began to thrive. Conflicts with the native Hottentots were not uncommon. Hitherto the settlers confined themselves to growing vegetables. For cattle, they depended on the Hottentots. It was now found necessary to encourage cattle breeding among the settlers and the plantation of the beautiful valley of Stellenbosch was the result. Before the close of the century the Dutch were reinforced by the Huguenots. With the arrival of these French Protestant exiles, who introduced new industries, the Colony began to expand towards the east and north. By 1780 it was brought up to the limits of the Kaffir terri-

tory. The Huguenot immigration had other important results. From the first they were opposed to the paternal system of government obtaining in the Colony. "They found themselves surrounded by restrictions, which, belonging to a different social system galled them far more than the Dutch settlers, and they brought from France that dislike of the interference of the central authority and that love of provincial organisation which characterised the French Huguenots." More important than the effect on political life was the fusion of the two races which resulted in the evolution of a distinct nationality commonly known as the Boer. "The South African Boer is characterised by sturdy courageous independence, a somewhat sensitive pride, a warm-hearted hospitality and conservative spirit."

The Bushman, the Hottentot, the Kaffir and the Zulu :—As in New Zealand the natives played a conspicuous part in the history of South Africa. The earliest inhabitants were the Bushmen, now scattered over the desert regions of the Kalahari. Formerly they lived by hunting and when the game disappeared with the growth of white settlement they took to cattle-lifting. In warfare as in hunting they trusted to their poisoned arrows. The bushmen were displaced by the Hottentots. They were a pastoral race whom the Dutch found occupying the west coast as well as the Orange river basin. "They were a race easily reduced to servitude, not so much from lack of courage as from want of military organisation and of capacity for war." Among the

native races with whom the Dutch and later the English had to contend, none were more fierce than the Kaffirs, sometimes known as the Bantus, a strong war-like race, highly organised in law, government and discipline, following agricultural and pastoral pursuits. They were looking for new lands and homes. The southward movement of the Kaffirs from Central Africa coincided with the northward competitive movement of the Europeans from the sea and necessarily brought about a collision. The fiercest among the Kaffirs were the Zulus whose wars and migrations changed the aspect of South African history.

English Conquest and Settlement:—What was a Dutch colony might still have continued so but for one circumstance. In 1775 France conquered Holland. England forestalled the French naval design by capturing Cape Town. It remained in British hands and was administered as a military dependency until 1802, when it was transferred to Holland by the Peace of Amiens. At the outbreak of war it was retaken by the English in 1806 and ever since it has remained British. The Dutch Government was compensated by payment of a sum of six million pounds. At the time of conquest, the Colony had besides twenty six thousand Europeans, thirty thousand African and Malay slaves and seventeen thousand Hottentots. Before 1820 the British settlers in South Africa were few. That year and in the year following, five thousand English settlers landed in Algoa Bay and settled in Albany. It was remarkable that

the Imperial Parliament initiated the scheme and financed the enterprise. Henceforth the white population of Cape Colony was not composed only of the Dutch and the Germans.

Circumstances leading to the Great Trek:—"In the Boers the English had to deal with a strong, tenacious race, suspicious of new-comers, inheriting traditions of successful rivalry to England, sore at being served from their mother-country, minded, whether under the Dutch or the English flag, to go their own ways and live their own lives." The underlying reason for the Great Trek lay in the general character of the Boers. For the Dutch farmers, being conservative, looked on with disfavour on the introduction of administrative and judicial reforms. With them acts of severity were a bitter memory. The arrest of a Boer in 1815 for outrage done to a native was followed by an out-break which ended in the hanging of five Boers. This, they could not easily forget. The missionaries from England strove to widen the chasm between the English and the Africanders. Soon after the conquest, English and Scottish missions set to work to convert the natives. While engaged in this duty, they sent reports of the ill-treatment of the natives by the Boers, and educated English public opinion with regard to native character and Boer cruelty. This was something the Dutchman could not put up with. Further the extension of political privileges to natives and the Emancipation Act of 1834, which abolished slavery, exasperated the Boers and brought their discontent to a head. The Act dealt a

heavy blow to the farmers who owned wealth in slaves. Lastly, the conduct of the Home Government in abandoning the conquests of the Sixth Kaffir War (1834-1835) and thus bringing the frontier back to the great Fish river involved a wider issue; for thereby the English recognised the Kaffirs only as a peaceful race. It was an attitude which did not harmonise with Boer views and irritated them. "This filled the Dutchman's cup of bitterness against the British Government. The beginning of all the trouble in South Africa was missionary influence, slave emancipation, regard for the interests or supposed interests of native races." The Africanders found their remedy in emigration and in 1836 organised the Great Trek which had important consequences. "From this time Cape Colony ceased to be the only great European settlement in South Africa. The actual impulse was for good. It aided the development of South Africa, which otherwise would have been seriously hampered by the apprehensions of the English Home Government."

Natal:—The Boers emigrated in large numbers with their wives, children and all their belongings. The movement was spread over many years. They went north, and settled in the plains between the Orange and the Vaal rivers. This was the beginning of the Orange Free State. Others trekked north, crossed the Vaal and founded the South African Republic. A third party went in a north-easterly direction and crossed over the mountains into Natal, where before their arrival the English had begun to settle along the coast.

The land belonged to the *Zulus*, a fierce warlike race, who by their downward movement had displaced the Kaffirs (1830). The intrepid Dutch and the fierce Zulus fell to fighting. In the end the former were victorious and founded Pietermaritzburg. Here too the British Government did not leave the Boers to themselves. On the strength of the advice of the Governor of the Cape, troops were despatched to occupy Natal in 1842. The Boers resisted but were defeated. The territory was annexed. A few among the Boers submitted to the inevitable and accepted British rule. The majority, however, resented the intrusion of the British Government and "trekked away to the other Boer States, nursing a hatred of the power, which had deprived them of their slaves and exiled them from the Cape and from Natal." The province brought under British rule began to prosper when the power of the Zulus was finally broken and their territory was annexed in 1897.

The Orange River Sovereignty: Having occupied Natal, the British Government hesitated to increase their responsibility for law and order by fresh acquisition. The Boers in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal were not however allowed to enjoy their freedom for a long time. British sovereignty was proclaimed over the territory between the Orange and the Vaal by Sir Henry Smith, Governor of Cape Colony. It was not, however, without a struggle with the Boers that the Orange River Sovereignty was established. Soon a war with the Kaffirs broke out afresh. In all, there

were ten Kaffir wars and all of them without exception ended in extension of British territory. At the same time there was another war with the mountaineers of Basutoland. The British Government fought shy of increasing responsibilities and recognised the independence of the Transvaal by the Sand River Convention (1852). The Orange River Sovereignty was relinquished in 1854 by the Convention of Bloemfontein. The period following was marked by steady progress and friendly relations with the supreme power.

Basutoland, Griqualand and Bechuanaland:—The constant fighting, between the Boers of the Orange Free State and the Bantus settled in the mountainous districts bounded by the Caledon River and the Drakenburg Mountains, gave occasion for British interference. The Bantus put themselves under the protection of the British Government and in 1868 Basutoland was annexed to Cape Colony and eventually transferred to the Imperial Government. Three years later the discovery of diamonds round the district of Kimberley led to the annexation, not without protest from the Orange Free State, of Griqualand which formed part of Cape Colony. That Colony was only rounded off by the annexation of Bechuanaland in 1895. Eleven years later the latter was taken under the protection of the Imperial Government.

The Transvaal:—The history of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, two South African Republics, dates from the Great Trek or general exodus

of the Cape Colony Boers. The progress of the Transvaal since the recognition of its independence was anything but satisfactory. The State was threatened with bankruptcy and ruin. Its weakness was a source of danger to the other parts, especially on the eve of a threatening war with the Zulus, whose advance would prove a menace to the other States. The situation was full of danger. Consequently the British Government annexed the Transvaal in 1877. This had two immediate results. In the first place, it led to open hostilities with the Zulus. War broke out in 1879. The British troops sustained a terrible defeat. But the Zulus beaten at Ulundi submitted. Zululand was annexed in 1887. A Commissioner was placed over the district and in 1891 it was incorporated with Natal. The First Boer War was another fruit of the annexation of the Transvaal. "Relieved of danger from the Zulus, disappointed at delay in the grant of self-government which had been promised, mindful of the shiftiness of British policy, the Boers followed up protests againt annexation by rising in arms in 1880." The English made the mistake of under-estimating their enemies. A series of reverses made Gladstone's Government to open negotiations. By the Pretoria Convention (1881) amended by the London Convention of 1881, the Transvaal became independent under the name of the South African Republic, the British Government having control only over foreign relations.

The Great Boer War: What led to it:—The first President of the Republic was Paul Kruger whose

cherished ambition to found a Boer Empire, received a rude shock when the South Africa Company founded by Cecil Rhodes took possession of the region north of Bechuanaland and the Transvaal (1889). The establishment of British authority in Rhodesia was much resented by the Republic as blasting its hope of expansion towards the north. Meanwhile, the overthrow of the Zulu power made it easy for the Boers to establish a new Republic in the Zulu territory. Subsequently, it was incorporated with the Transvaal. Thus encouraged, they absorbed Swaziland in 1894. At the same time the financial position of the Republic began to improve. The discovery of the Rand gold fields in 1886 affected the economic and political condition of South Africa. The gold mines of Johannesburg attracted a swarm of foreigners. In a few years the newcomers far out-numbered the Boers. Restrictions were imposed upon the Uitlanders, as they were called, and various laws designed to exclude them from political power were passed. The system of granting monopolies to private individuals put a bar on the rise of the Uitlander. The commercial prosperity of the State did not improve the oligarchical and corrupt administration. The conservative Boers were uncompromising in their attitude to the new-comers who were clamouring for concessions.

Matters came to a head in 1895. The Transvaal State was no longer in a state of isolation. A railway was opened in 1887 through the Portuguese territory, connecting Lorenco-Marquis on the east coast with

Komati Poort on the Transvaal frontier. The line was extended to Pretoria by the Netherlands Railway Company. The policy of commercial isolation, by which a prohibitive tariff was imposed on goods from the side of the Vaal, and the encouragement of the Delgoa Bay Railway to the exclusion of all commerce with Cape Colony and Natal, alarmed the British Government. To ensure the protection of the British subjects and to re-establish trading relations, the English had to intervene.

Cecil Rhodes, the Premier of Cape Colony, sought to effect his purpose by force of arms. The attempt was prematurely conceived by Jameson in 1895. He marched on Johannesburg with a handful of troops, There was no simultaneous outbreak of the Uitlanders and Jameson was compelled to surrender. The raid had two immediate results. It hardened the Boer temper. The lot of the Uitlanders became intolerable. President Kruger began preparations for war on a large scale. The Orange Free State and the Transvaal united for mutual protection. A conference between Kruger and Sir Alfred Milner, the High Commissioner, came to nothing. Negotiations for a settlement only delayed the crisis and were broken off by the declaration of war in 1899.

Events:—The war lasted three years. It was a formidable struggle which decided the fate of the British Empire in South Africa. The Orange Free State threw in its lot with the Transvaal. The military strength of the two Republics was unknown and the war opened with British disasters. One party of the Boers invaded

Natal and besieged Ladysmith. Another force invested Kimberley. A third besieged Mafeking and invaded Cape Colony. To the credit of the Dutch in Cape Colony, it must be said that a great majority of them remained loyal to Great Britain. A series of British reverses in 1899 roused the Empire to a sense of the danger. Regiments began to pour into South Africa from Great Britain, Canada, India, Australia and New Zealand. At the same time two of the most tried soldiers of Great Britain, Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener, were sent out as Commander-in-Chief and Chief of Staff. With their arrival the tide of battle began to turn in favour of the English. Ladysmith and Kimberley were relieved. Bloemfontein and Pretoria, capitals of the Republics, were captured. Still the Boers held on. They were excellent at gorilla warfare, but the military skill of Lord Kitchener, who succeeded Lord Roberts, ended the protracted struggle. By the Peace of Pretoria the two Republics were formally annexed to the British Empire.

CHAPTER III.

Growth from Council to Self-Government.

"The acquisition of Cape Colony brought with it the inheritance of all those difficulties which the Netherlands East India Company had failed adequately to meet."

Pollard.

Cape Colony under Military Rule (1806 to 1833):—The Cape was used as a port of call and victualling station by the Dutch East India Company, and, from the middle of the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth century, was administered as a dependency of Batavia. During the Napoleonic War the English captured Cape Town and the Peace of Paris confirmed Great Britain in the possession of this valuable conquest. At the time of conquest, the Colony consisted of twenty six thousand white settlers almost entirely of Dutch origin, thirty thousand Hottentots and seventeen thousand slaves. From the nature of the circumstances it was placed under government of a military character. The Governor was subject only to the control of the Crown. Otherwise his power was unlimited. His proclamations had the force of law. As regards local administration the Dutch system was continued. In 1825 an Advisory Council of six consisting of the chief military and civil officers of the Colony was created. From this time, the laws of the Colony took the

form of Ordinances of the Governor-in-Council. By 1828, the Dutch local institutions were substituted for by British ones and the Dutch language by English.

As a Crown Colony:—The military rule subsisted until 1834 when the Colony was promoted to the status of a Crown Colony. An Executive Council, consisting of the Governor and four high officials, and a Legislative Council, composed of officials and an equal number of non-official members nominated by the Governor from among the most respectable citizens, were created. The defect of the system lay in the fact that it left the people completely out of account, there being no arrangement by which they could voice their opinion.

Representative Government:—The Great Trek marks the next stage in the constitutional evolution of Cape Colony. Besides aiding the development of South Africa, it drew the attention of the Home Government to the situation in South Africa. The colonists had absolutely no voice in the management of their affairs. This could not be continued indefinitely. The matter was taken up by the British Ministry; but the Seventh Kaffir War delayed the grant of responsible government. At every stage of her growth and expansion the Kaffirs played their part. The lesson, of the unanimous public opinion in Cape Colony, in 1849, on the question of making the Cape a penal settlement was not lost on the Home Government. The Constitution of 1853 was intended to give the people training in representative institutions. It brought into existence a

Parliament consisting of two elected Chambers: a Legislative Council and a House of Representatives. The franchise based on a low property qualification was extended to all without distinction of race or colour. The Executive was entirely independent of the Legislature and was not responsible to it. The Constitution though liberal in many respects did not differ from that of a Crown Colony.

Responsible Government 1872:—The colonists had to go through a stage of political tuition before they were declared fit to receive the boon of responsible government. It was found necessary because the English and the Dutch had to learn to unite. By 1872 the differences between the two races had almost disappeared. That year it was enacted, that the Executive Council should be chosen from the party commanding a majority in the Legislative Assembly. This made that body responsible to the Legislature. In 1842 the Dutch language was allowed to be spoken in Parliament. The Colony justified the hopes that were entertained of it when responsible government was granted. During the Great Boer War a large majority of the Dutch population remained loyal to Britain.

Natal: First Period:—The English settlement in Natal dates from 1824, when a small party obtained a grant of territory round the Port of Natal from the Zulu chief Chaka. The British Government, however, refused to acknowledge the action. The Cape Government also looked upon the new adventurers with disfavour. Thus they lived until the arrival of the Boers on the other side

of the Drakenburg. Once more the Great Trek helped the growth of South Africa. The establishment of a Boer Republic at Natal adjoining Cape Colony alarmed the latter. The new-comers soon picked a quarrel with the neighbouring native tribe. This necessitated the interference of the Cape Government. The province was occupied by an English force and in 1844 it was made a dependency of the Cape. It was administered by a Lieutenant Governor with the aid of an Executive Council. As a European Colony Natal had rather a slow growth. In 1852 its white population numbered only eight thousand as against one hundred and thirteen thousand natives. The slow growth is accounted for partly by the presence of a large native population and partly by the love on the part of the Boer farmer for greater political independence.

The Second Period :— The constitutional dependence of Natal on Cape Colony was removed in 1842 by the creation of a separate Legislative Council nominated by the Crown. The assent of the Governor and the Crown was necessary for Ordinances passed by this body to acquire the force of law. This experiment lasted till 1856 when Natal was made a separate Colony with a Governor appointed by the Crown. At the same time representative government was granted. The type of constitution was that of a Crown Colony. The warlike Zulus on the northern border were responsible for the lapse of thirty seven years between the grant of representative and the inauguration of responsible

government in 1892. The Parliament consists of two Houses, a Legislative Council and a Legislative Assembly. The Upper House contains nominated members, while the Lower House is an elected chamber. The ministers are appointed by the Governor and are responsible to the Legislature.

The Orange River Colony: First Stage:—The history of the Orange River Colony as a white settlement began with the great migration of the Boers from Cape Colony. The Boers set up a Republic in the region between the Vaal and Orange rivers. They found the Matabele in possession of the country. A tough fight ensued and in the end, the natives were worsted. The town of Winburg was founded in 1837. The first Trekkers were reinforced by fresh immigrants. Disputes between the Boers and the Griquas led to the appointment of a British Commissioner with his headquarters at Bloemfontein,

Second Stage:—In 1848 English sovereignty was proclaimed in the region between the Orange and Vaal rivers. The Dutch farmers aided by their brethren in the Transvaal stoutly resisted, and those who still clung to their independence retired beyond the Vaal. The Government of the Orange River Sovereignty was organised. It was divided into four districts. A Legislative Council was created. The districts were administered by magistrates over whom was the High Commissioner. Close upon the proclamation of sovereignty came the first Basuto War. The Home

Government, reluctant to increase their responsibility, by the convention of Bloemfontein in 1854 withdrew from the territory.

Third Stage:—This was the beginning of the Orange Free State. The Republic was of a military character, everyman being liable to military service. The infant State alive to the dangers it was exposed to from the Basutos made proposals for union with the Transvaal. In the wars that followed the Free State had the victory and Basutoland was taken under British protection. Meanwhile the western limits of the State were pushed up to the land of the Griquas. A tract of country including Kimberley was purchased from them. Disputes soon arose as to the extent of rights over the territory which with the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley reached an acute stage. A sum of ninety thousand pounds was given to the Free State and the territory under the name of Griqualand West was annexed to Britain.

Final Stage and Annexation:—For a quarter of a century from 1871, the Free State had uninterrupted progress. The Jameson Raid reopened the question of close union with the Transvaal, and a defensive alliance between the two States was the result. When war broke out, the Free State threw in its lot with the South African Republic. Bloemfontein, the capital was occupied by Lord Roberts in 1900 and the State was finally annexed under the name of the Orange River Colony. It was governed as a Crown Colony by a Governor assisted by nominated Legislative and Executive

Councils. Before long, responsible government was granted in 1907 and both the chambers of the Legislature were thrown open to election.

The Transvaal: First Period:—The territory between the Vaal and the Limpopo rivers was originally the home of the Bautus who were swept away by the migration of the Metabele, a section of the Zulus. The Boers advancing beyond the Vaal had to oust the natives before they established themselves in the country and founded the Republic. They were reinforced by emigrants from the Orange River Sovereignty. The history of the South African Republic, as it came to be called, dates from the Sand River Connection which recognised the independence of the Transvaal (1852). It was divided into four districts. The head of the Executive was the President chosen by the people. The Representative Assembly known as the Volksraad appointed the Executive. The Commandant-General was the military head of the Republic. He was elected by the burghers bearing arms. The Assembly consisted of members chosen by the European community according to property qualification.

Second Period: Annexation:—The South African Republic had a chequered career. Civil war and faulty finance threatened the very existence of the State. Quarrels between the Boers and the warlike Zulus on the north and east were not uncommon. In 1876 they were preparing for an invasion, and the Transvaal State was in no condition to resist. The advance of the Zulus was an event

dreaded by the English and in 1877 the Transvaal was annexed. Soon after the Zulu War, the Boers who were tenacious of their freedom began agitation for independence. The State was constituted a Crown Colony with a nominated Legislature (1879). This, however, did not satisfy the Boers and a rising was the result. In 1884 the Convention of London recognised the independence of the South African Republic, subject to the control of the paramount power in foreign affairs. The boundaries of the State were fixed. The Zulu power having been broken, the State began to extend its limits and before 1894 Swaziland and two other provinces of Zululand were added to the Republic.

The Boer War and After:—The discovery of gold brought a swarm of European settlers. The old system of administration was found to be inadequate to the new and changed circumstances. The new-comers were looked upon with distrust and suspicion by the Boers. Restrictions of a severe character were imposed upon them and they were completely excluded from political power. An armed support of their cause ended in ignominious failure. The Jameson Raid embittered the feelings between the Dutch and the English. War broke out in 1899. It lasted for three years. The capital was occupied and the State was annexed in 1900. At the close of the war in 1902, Lord Milner became Governor. He was assisted by nominated Executive and Legislative Councils. Swaziland came to be administered separately from 1903. Representative govern-

ment was granted in 1902 by letters patent. It was a transitional stage and in 1906, full responsible government with a Legislature consisting of a Council and an Assembly was granted. The equality of status and privileges accorded to the Boer and the Briton tended to diminish the differences between the two.

CHAPTER IV.

The Union of South Africa.

"As in Canada, the grant of self-government has converted racialism into nationalism, and enabled two once hostile peoples to combine in a common ambition. Similarity of economic interests and of policy towards the natives of Africa and emigrants from Asia, has created a keen desire for closer union among the various Colonies.'

Pollard.

Commercial Federation:— In the case of South Africa as in that of Canada and South Australia, self-government was but the immediate step to a closer union. The question of federation was mooted by Sir George Grey, Governor of Cape Colony, as early as 1859, which led to his recall. A fine opportunity was lost and when the subject was reconsidered in 1875, public feeling in South Africa, especially in Cape Colony, had undergone a change. The *Zulu* War tied the hands of Sir Barte Frere, Governor of Cape Colony (1877—79). The next few years form the darkest pages of South African history. The bitter feelings of the English and the Dutch seemed to have shattered all hopes of union. The industrial development of the country, however, gave an impetus to the movement for federation. A conference of delegates from Cape Colony, Natal and the Orange Free State met at Cape Town. A scheme of federation on a basis of

internal free trade between the Colonies and the States of South Africa, and of a uniform tariff on imports from other countries was agreed upon. The South African Republic elected to stand aloof from this proposed commercial union. A new Convention met in 1899 at Bloemfontein. Natal was averse to raise its low tariffs. The Cape Parliament passed a Customs Union Bill and the Orange Free State, shortly after, accepted the proposals contained in it. Between 1890 and 96 Cecil Rhodes furthered the movement for commercial federation by educating public opinion in South Africa. In 1898 Natal entered the Customs Union. After the Boer War the Convention of July 1906, established the South African Customs Union consisting of Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange River Colony, the Transvaal, South Rhodesia, North-western Rhodesia, and the Protectorates of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland.

Forces making for Union :— Communal antagonism ended with the grant of self-goverment. Racialism gave place to nationalism. So far the British and the Boers were constantly fighting. This communal warfare disappeared altogether and the two once hostile people learned to combine for common ends. For purposes of customs the States were already a single whole. This commercial union pointed to a closer political union. It taught the States that in common fields of action, it is to the advantage of all the members to coalesce in order to pursue a uniform policy. Therefore, similarity of economic aims and interests coupled with similarity of policy towards the natives of Africa as well

as emigrants from Asia, dictated the union among the States. The question of federation began once more to engage the attention of the Colonies. A conference met in 1908 and in the following year the Union of South Africa was an accomplished fact. By the Union Act of 1909, the four States, Cape Colony, the Transvaal, Natal and the Orange River Colony were amalgamated. The first Parliament of the Union was opened at Cape Town by the Duke of Connaught in 1910. The Executive is vested in a Governor-General appointed by the Crown who is assisted by an Executive Council and a Legislature of two Houses.

South Africa, Canada and Australia: a Comparison.—The Union of South Africa is in important respects different from the federal union of Canada and of Australia. The Constitutions of the latter partake the character of a genuine federal constitution, while that of South Africa is unitary. "The four colonies practically merge their identity in United South Africa, and accept the status of Provinces. To the existing Colonial Legislatures it will fall to elect the first Senate of the South African Union, but having performed that final act they will cease to be."

South Africa is one among the most important naval stations of the Empire. In the Great War she was not behind the other dominions to rally round the British standard. The conquests of German South-west and East Africa, go to her credit. In Europe also her soldiers shed their blood for the Empire.

BOOK VIII.

The Indian Empire.

CHAPTER I.

Geography of India.

"Although India is sparingly provided with natural facilities for maritime commerce, it is remarkable that from the earliest times of which we have records, all peaceful intercourse between that country and the rest of the world has been by sea, whilst with the single exception of the British occupation which was due to naval supremacy, all hostile invasions have been by land; and this in spite of the immese mountain barrier on the north, which constitutes the principal feature in the configuration of India." The International Geography.

Position:—India is a sub-continent, divided into equal areas by the tropic of Cancer, consisting of a northern continental portion in the temperate zone and a peninsular projecton in the south, lying entirely within the tropics. Situated almost in the centre of the eastern hemisphere and lying between "an enormous area of land and an almost equally enormous area of sea" her position is one of great advantage economically for purposes of distribution.

Physical Features:—The country easily falls into three distinct divisions:—(1) the lofty mountain barriers in the north, north east and north west (2) the Great Indo-Gangetic plain (3) the Deccan Plateau including the long coastal strips in the west and east. The snowclad Himalayas with the Mount Everest are the most striking feature in the physical geography of India. They offer protection against inroads from the north. Besides being an impregnable wall of defence, they are important as rain screens and feed the rivers of the Great Plain all round the year with water and alluvium. The Himalayas are called the "human equator of the earth" and have shut off India from the rest of Asia. On the physical conditions of India and on the moral and economic life of her people they exercise the greatest influence. On the north-west she is fenced by a series of hills which, however, contain many openings. "By one or other of these routes wave after wave of conquest has broken on the plains of India, leaving one deposit upon another of race, language and social strata." The north-east is also flanked by mountain ranges. In addition to being a barrier to the movement of population, the mountains have been a home of wild aboriginal tribes. Of such half-civilised tribes inhabiting the hills, the Ghonds of Chota-Nagpur and the Todas of the Nilgris are examples. The mountains in general produce a hardy race of warriors and likewise the mountains of India have nursed the war-like spirit of the Pathans and the Gurkhas.

The Indo-Gangetic plain:—Lying between

the Himalayas and the Vindhyas is the historic plain of Hindustan fertilised and watered by three great rivers. This extensive area contains rich alluvial soil and is most densely populated. The early history of India is mainly the story of the sudden rise and fall of kingdoms in Hindustan. "It was on account of its large rivers and rich soil that the plain of Northern India became the home of ancient Aryan civilisation and the birth-place of religions and empires. The open nature of the country, easily accessible to martial invaders of the north-west, has given frequent occasion for the formation of powerful kingdoms ruled by vigorous foreigners." The possession of the Indo-Gangetic basins is one of the primary conditions of foreign dominion in India.

The Deccan Plateau:—The Great Plain is separated from the rest of India by the triangular tableland of the Deccan, of which the Vindhyas form its base and the Eastern and Western Ghats its two sides. The Vindhyas stretching across the peninsula have made the history of South India distinct from that of Hindustan. They are a hindrance to sweeping invasions, so common in the story of northern India, and have preserved the Dravidian civilization in tact. It was only slowly that the Aryans filtered down to the south. The Western Ghats marking off the western coastal strip became a home of the hardy Marathas. The eastern marginal lowlands flanked by the Eastern Ghats on the other hand became the seat of kingdoms and empires.

Burma:—Isolated by mountain ranges and cut off

from the rest of the world, Burma follows its course in a corner of the sub-continent. It is a hilly country, where 'Nature seems to rule in all her grandeur.'

Rivers:—The Himalayas are the source of the Indus, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, the three great rivers on which depends the prosperity of Hindustan. The Indus is navigable for small vessels for nearly nine hundred miles from its mouth. The enormous quantity of mud it brings chokes it up. Consequently its great value is for irrigation. "With its four chief tributaries it has made the Punjab one of the wheat granaries of the world." The Ganges has been aptly called 'the great highway of Bengal.' Bengal is the gift of this most importantriver in much the same way as Sind is the gift of the Indus. The basin of this famous river has been the scene of Indian history and the centre of trade and civilisation. Historic cities such as Delhi and Agra, Allahabad and Benares, Murshidabad and Dacca, Patna and Calcutta stand on its banks. "It has been the commercial artery of Northern India from time immemorial. There is not a river in the world which has influenced mankind or helped the growth of civilization to such an extent as the Ganges." Less useful than the Ganges and the Indus is the Brahmaputra. It is navigable for eight hundred miles from the sea and until recently was the only highway of Assam. It carries a large quantity of silt, but is of little use for irrigation.

The rivers of the Deccan partake the character of mountain torrents and are of little value for navigation,

The Narbada and the Tapti flow west and join the Arabian Sea. Of the rivers that flow east, the Godavary the Kistna and the Cauvery are the most important. They have been dammed up in convenient places and made to irrigate large areas. The Deccan rivers are not entirely devoid of towns of historic memory, of which Cuttack on the Mahanadi, Rajamahndry and Coconada on the Godavary, Bazwada and Coconada on the Kistna, Trichinopoly and Tanjore on the Cauvery, are a few examples.

Climate:—The climate of a sub-continent like India exhibiting great variations in height must indeed by varied. The general climate of Northern India is continental with its great range of temperature between summer and winter. The Southern Peninsula lying in the tropics has a hot climate, but the variation of temperature between summer and winter is small and in the case of the coastal regions it is still less. The Indian climate not only influences the productivity of the land, but also determines the character and physique of the people. Moderate exertion in a hot and moist climate causes much fatigue and produces a general weakness and disinclination to hard work. The climate also has its telling effect on the longevity of life, the average for India being very low. "Then in a hot country where Nature with a little help provides plenty of food to the cultivator, and little shelter is necessary, there is not the spur to exertion which is found in a temparate or cold climate where Nature is more sparing of her gifts."

Rainfall :—The land presents remarkable diversity as regards rainfall. India gets about ninety per cent of her rains from the south-west monsoon. The north-east monsoon contains very little moisture and brings rain to the parched regions of the Eastern Ghats. In the extreme north and south, rainfall occurs in the cool seasons; elsewhere it falls in summer. The regions of heaviest precipitation are the west coast, Eastern Bengal and the Khasi Hills. The Western Ghats deprive the north-west monsoon of a considerable portion of its moisture, thus leaving the Deccan plateau dry. The Himalayas on the north condense it into snow and deflect the wind. Cherrapunji in the Khasi Hills receives an annual rainfall of about six hundred inches, one establishing a record of eight hundred and five inches. "It is believed to be the wettest corner of the globe." The dry regions are the Indus valley and the Deccan plateau. The Indian farmer is dependent on rainfall which decides the fate of the crops. "The prosperity of the country mainly depends on the monsoons and natural water supply is the chief factor determining the density of population and the state of civilization in any particular part of India."

Vegetation :—Agriculture is the mainstay of India. The great bulk of the population either cultivates the soil or is directly dependent on land. Rice forms the staple food of a considerable section of the community. It is grown chiefly in areas of heavy rainfall, in Bengal, Assam, Burma and Madras. Millet is equally important,

being the principal food of the common people. It is cultivated extensively everywhere especially in Bombay, Madras, the Punjab and the United Provinces. The great wheat producing areas are the Punjab, the United Provinces, Behar and the Central Provinces. Oil seeds are confined chiefly to Bengal, Madras, the United and the Central Provinces. Sugar-cane cultivation, is a speciality in the United Provinces. Cotton comes from Bombay, the Berars, Madras and the Punjab. Bengal has a monopoly of jute cultivation, while Indigo monopoly is distributed between Behar and Madras. Tea comes chiefly from Assam, Bengal and the Nilgris, coffee from Madras and Coorg. Tobacco flourishes in Behar, Bengal and Madras. Patna and Ghazipur are the chief centres of poppy cutivation. Cinchona is a government monopoly and flourishes in the Nilgris, Mysore, Travancore and in Darjeeling. Spices are grown in various parts.

Forests :—Forests cover the Western Ghats, the Himalayas, Assam, the hills of Burma and other parts of the country. Teak, sal, deodar, pines, sandalwood, ebony, and palms are among the forest products. The 'teak, the king of Indian forest trees' flourishes in the Western Ghats, Assam and Burma. The sal comes chiefly from Central India. The Himalayas produce the deodar and the pine. Mysore has a monopoly of the sandalwood tree. The bamboo is found all over the peninsula and in Burma. India is a land of palms of which the cocoanut is the most important. It thrives in sandy soil with a warm climate and good rainfall.

Mineral Resources:—The mineral wealth of India is not, as was supposed once, a negligible quantity. Rich mineral deposits have been discovered and worked in Bengal, the Central Provinces, Burma, Behar and Orissa. "What the mineral possibilities of this country are, was made clear by the experience of war time, when India was thrown on her own resources and had besides to help the Empire by manufacturing commodities which would ordinarily be imported." Coal occurs in the Damodar, Narbada and the Godavary valleys, in the hills of Chota Nagpur and north-east of Assam. Iron is earthed from Bengal and Orissa. Gold is obtained chiefly from the Kolar fields. Precious stones exist in the Deccan and Burma. Salt is cut out from the Salt Range in the Punjab and evaporated along the coasts and from the salt-lakes of Rajputana, notably Lake Sambar. Petroleum is found chiefly in Burma and Upper Assam.

Communication:—The country has been filled with a net-work of railways connecting centres of production and centres of Government with harbour towns such as Bombay, Karachi, Calcutta, Madras and Rangoon. They serve for transport of troops, facilitate communication, develop the resources of the country and promote internal and foreign trade. A look at the railway map of India will impress the fact that the lines are numerous in densely populated areas of the Indo-Gangetic plain. A great trunk line links Calcutta, Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Agra, Delhi, Ambala, Lahore and Peshawar. Another runs from Benares to Ambala through Lucknow and

Bareilly. All the cities and towns of Hindustan are connected by railways. The provincial capitals have also been thus linked together. The Indus Valley Railway is a military railway. Though the railways have superseded the rivers, the Ganges, the Indus, the Brahmaputra and the Irawady are still the chief means of inland traffic.

Conclusion:—"Geographical barriers and links help to explain the movements of conquest and of peaceful migration which form the web and woof of the history of India. Climatic characteristics determine political divisions in the three great areas of mountain, lowland and tableland." The rugged countries are either independent or under native agency. Kashmir, Bhutan, Central India and Mysore substantiate the statement. Water supply and rainfall appear to be the basis of division of the lowlands into (a) the arid desert of Rajputana, (b) the irrigated lands of the Punjab (c) the Upper Ganges basin constituting the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh with less rainfall (d) Bengal and (e) Assam. The Narbada, the Tapti and the Mahanadi helped the formation of the British Central Provinces. The Nizam's Dominions lie between the Kistna and the Godavari where there is scanty rain. "Geographical influences are not so apparent in the distribution of political power on the coastal plains of the Deccan. The influence of geographical conditions can however be traced in the western extension of Madras through the Palghat gap to the Malabar coast as far north as the Bombay frontier."

CHAPTER II.

The Mughal Empire 1526-1707.

"Of all the dynasties that had yet ruled in India, that of Timur was the weakest and the most insecure in foundations. Its only adherents were a body of adventurers, whose sole bond of union was their common advantage during success." Historians' History of the World.

Babur:—The Tudor period in English history is spoken of as the dawn of modern times; with equal propriety the Mughal period in the history of India may be described as the starting point of the modern epoch. The Mughal dynasty was founded by Babur, King of Kabul, whose victory over Ibrahim Lodi (1526) on the historic plain of Paniput, opened a new career for the bold adventurer. Delhi and Agra were quickly occupied and Babur had to face a formidable Hindu confederacy under Rana Sanga, head of the Rajput clans. The armies met at Sikri. "The tactics which had won the battle of Paniput were repeated with the same result." The Mughal Conqueror followed up the victory by capturing the fortress of Chanderi, and defeating the Afghans of Behar and Bengal on the banks of the Gogra. At the time of his death in 1530, almost the whole of Northern India from the Punjab to Behar had come under his rule. "He brought the energy of the Mongol, the courage and

capacity of the Turk to the listless Hindu; and himself a soldier of fortune and no architect of empire, he yet laid the first stone of the splendid fabric which his grandson Akbar completed."

Humayun: 1530-'40:—Humayun the eldest son of Babur succeeded to no easy inheritance. His brother Kamran already Governor of Kabul and Kandahar deprived him of the Punjab. The loss of these provinces left Humayun without the ways and means of reinforcing his army. His position at Delhi was insecure. Bahadur Shah threatened him on one side, while Sher Khan gave him cause for anxiety on the other. Humayun marched against Malwa and easily disposed of Bahadur Shah. "Malwa and Gujrat had fallen like ripe fruits into his hands. Never was conquest so easy. Never, too, was conquest more recklessly squandered away." His attention was now called away by affairs in the east, where the Afghan chief Sher Khan had raised the standard of revolt. The fortress of Chunar was reduced. Gour the capital of Bengal was taken. During the Emperor's absence in Bengal, Sher Khan recovered Chunar and cut off Humayun's communication. Humayun was defeated at Chausa and Kanauj. The Emperor escaped to Persia where he put himself under the protection of the Shah.

Sher Shah (1540-'45):—Sher Khan became Emperor with the title of Sher Shah. Kamran surrendered the Punjab and Sher Shah addressed himself to the task of subduing Rajputana, Malwa and Bundelkand. His efforts were attended with varying success and he

died besieging Kalinjar. Sher Shah is great as an administrator and in his fiscal reforms anticipated Akbar.

Humayun (again) 1555-56:—In the meantime, Humayun with the help of the King of Persia had conquered Kandahar and Kabul. He found his opportunity in the confusion that followed the death of Islam Shah, son and successor of Sher Shah. In 1555 he entered India, seized the Punjab, defeated Sekunder and occupied Delhi and Agra. Humayun did not however long enjoy his revived fortune. He fell from the stairs of his palace and died in 1556. "His end was of a piece with his character. If there was a posibility of falling, Humayun was not the man to miss it. He tumbled through life and he tumbled out of it."

Akbar the Great 1556-1605 :—Akbar was only a boy of fourteen when he ascended the throne. Surrounded by powerful enemies, the young prince was soon called upon to defend his father's hardly-won empire. "Akbar the Great possessed high military talents, intelligence and resource in organisation, energy and activity in execution, and determination and courage in the field. But these high military virtues are poor claims to the title of greatness compared to that broad-minded sympathy, that capacity to trust and to evoke trust, that generous confidence in a loyal people, which enabled him to wield together a great and durable empire out of the poor fragments of military conquests left to him by his father."

Early Conquests :— The Afghans still ruled Bengal. Under the able generalship of Hemu they cap-

tured Agra and Delhi. Thereupon the Hindu minister assumed the title of Raja Vikramaditya and marched on Lahore. The armies met on the historic field of Panipat. Akbar had in Bairam Khan "a consummate General and a man of iron resolution." Hemu was defeated and slain. Agra and Delhi threw open their gates to the victor. Saikandar Sur submitted. Gwalior, Ajmere and Jaunpur were occupied. Malwa was reduced. Behar was subjugated. Gondwana surrendered.

Akbar and the Rajputs :—"Rajputana formed the most striking feats of arms, diplomacy and statesmanship." In respect of the Rajputs Akbar followed a policy of conciliation. He allied himself with Rajput princes and cemented the friendship by marriage. Among the Rajputs, the Rana of Mewar alone held out. Then followed the famous siege of Chitor, which surrendered after a gallant resistance. (1568). The fall of Ranthambhor and Kalinjar brought all Rajputana under the Mughal.

Later Conquests :—Akbar was now free to turn in other directions. The conquest of Gujrat was undertaken in 1572. Bengal was conquered by Todar Mal between 1576-80 and reconquered by Raja Mansinha in 1592. On the death of Akbar's brother Hakim, Kabul was annexed. The conquest of Cashmere was accomplished in 1587. Kandahar was added in 1594. Akbar was now the master of the whole of Northern India from Kabul and Kandahar to the frontiers of Burma. The Narbada marked the southern limit of his empire

'Akbar was not immune from the Deccan fever, but it seized him late in life." In 1600 Kandesh and Berar were annexed.

"Akbar stands among the pitifully small number of those sovereigns who, not fearing to wield the sword, have used their power as a protection for religious freedom and freedom of thought." He practised toleration at a time when elsewhere persecution was the order of the day. The Hindus and the Muhammadans were given equal opportunities, equal rights and justice. The administration was organised. Reforms were introduced. The fiscal system of Raja Todar Mal, though no new invention, conferred a real boon and became the basis of later revenue settlement.

Jahangir:—1605-1627. Being born in the purple, Jahangir had the disadvantage of his birth. The genius of Babur and Akbar was forged in the furnace of adversity and practical experience. On the other hand, being the child of many prayers Prince Salim's path was a bed of roses. "He was denied the splendid opportunities which form the silver lining of the dense clouds of want and struggle—opportunities of acquiring insight into human nature; tact and resourcefulness, energy and audacity; in a word that grit which forms the essence of character.".

Nur Jahan :—Jahangir married Nur Jahan, Light of the World, and practically resigned all power to her. "There is no taste which indulgence nourishes and strengthens so rapidly as the taste for power. Nur

Jahan was one of those strong intellects who are conscious of the vast reserve of power, who find relief and delight in incessant activity, who love to dominate every situation and who tend un-consciously to gather all authority in their hands. To an ambitious and dominating temperament she added practical capacity of the highest order. To clarity of vision she added marvellous diligence and driving power." She was the most striking and towering personality in the Mughal Empire for full fifteen years.

Conquests:—In military achievements the reign of Jahangir was not barren. The rebellion in Bengal was put down. Prince Khurram received the submission of Mewar. Ahmadnagar, which had regained its independence under Malik Amber, was reduced. The famous fortress of Kangra was taken in 1620. Two years later the Emperor lost Kandahar. A great expedition to recapture it was planned but never sent out.

European Envoys:—Jahangir was the first Mughal to receive an English embassy. He was a contemporary of James I and his court was visited by Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe, whose accounts throw much light on the king and the court. The last years of his reign were clouded with court-intrigue and the revolt of Prince Khurram.

Shah Jahan:— Shah Jahan, the Magnificent, ascended the throne in 1627. Of all the great Mughals he was the most popular. " He knew how to tickle the imagination of his subjects by gorgeous pageants and

profuse expenditure and he could be good-natured and generous when it did not interfere with his personal comforts." The splendour of his court was unrivalled. He was a great builder. Delhi, a creation of the 'Prince of Mughal builders,' threw into the shade the splendour and glory of Agra, the capital of Babur and Akbar. Shah Jahan loved his wife Mumtuz Mahal intensely. Mr. Beni Prasad speaks of her thus: "To superb beauty and loveliness she added a pure generous heart, imperturbable cheerfulness, patience under the direst sufferings and a lofty sense of conjugal duty. She surrendered her mind and soul to her husband who loved her as never wife was loved. That bubble in marble well commemorates the idyllic purity of their love."

Conquests :—As soon as he came to the throne Shah Jahan had to deal with rebellions. In the year of his accession there was a rising of the Bundela clan of Rajputs. In the following year another revolt was headed by Khan Jahan Lodi. Kandahar and Balkh were lost to the empire. The Portuguese were expelled from Hugli in 1632. Two years earlier Shah Jahan had begun his campaigns in the Deccan. Ahmadnagar which had regained its independence under Shaji was finally annexed. The king of Bijapur submitted; but towards the close of the reign both Bijapur and Golconda were attacked by Aurangazeb, Viceroy of the Deccan. Before submission could be received the operations had to be suspended owing to the War of Succession.

The War of Succession :—In 1657 Shah Jahan

suddenly fell ill. He had four sons. Dara, the eldest, was the heir-apparent. Shuja, the second, was Governor of Bengal. Murad, the third, ruled Gujrat. Aurangazeb, the last, was Viceroy of the Deccan. Shuja and Murad assumed imperial titles and marched against Delhi. Aurangazeb, moved northwards and joined Murad. Dara's army beat back Shuja. The battle of Samugarh, fought between Aurangazeb and Murad on one side and Dara on the other, decided the conflict. Dara fled, was captured and beheaded. Murad Baksh and Shah Jahan were thrown into prison. Shuja, defeated by Aurangazeb's forces, fled. The throne was occupied by Aurangazeb in 1658.

Aurangazeb 1658-1707:—Aurangazeb was a stern Puritan. "Nothing in life—neither throne, nor love, nor ease—weighed for an instant in his mind against his fealty to the principles of Islam." With him sovereignty was the guardianship of the people. His was a suspicious nature. The result was, the Emperor was universally respected but never loved. "He was a man of high intellectual powers, a brilliant writer, an astute diplomatist, a soldier of undaunted courage, a skilled administrator a just and merciful judge, a pious ascetic in his personal habits, and yet a failure."

Conquests:—Aurangazeb, like his father and great grandfather, was served by a faithful band of brilliant officers. Mir Jumla, Governor of Bengal died in attempting to conquer Assam. He was succeeded by Shaista Khan, who swept the Brahmaputra clean of the Portuguese pirates and added Chittagong to the Empire. The Dec-

can was the grave of Aurangazeb's glory. The Marathas under Shivaji were carrying everything before them. Aurangazeb sent Shaista Khan against the Maratha chief. The Mughal commander was overthrown by stratagem. Two other generals were sent to crush the rising nation, but they effected nothing. Shivaji now assumed the title and dignity of king. A third army was despatched. The Maratha Raja had no course left but to submit and proceeded to Delhi to do homage. "A generous and conciliatory treatment such as the Great Akbar always extended to his humbled foes would have secured Shivaji for ever as a supporter of the Mughal throne. But Aurangazeb was incapable of such generosity." Shivaji was received coldly with studied contempt. He was imprisoned but he managed to escape. In the end Aurangazeb was compelled to acknowledge his title as Rajah. Shivaji died in 1680. The Marathas gathered strength from the intolerance and bigotry of the Emperor whose policy towards the non-Muhammadan subjects alienated the sympathy of the Hindus.

Aurangazeb himself assumed command of the army, determined to destroy the Muhammadan kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijapur and crush the insolent Marathas. In 1685, the kingdom of Bijapur ceased to exist. Golkonda was annexed in the following year. The Emperor now turned to subdue the Marathas. Twenty years were spent in the ineffectual attempt to crush a rising people. The Maratha forts were captured; their towns were occupied; yet the daring of the Marathas only increased with their failure. In the end the Mughal

army crumbled to pieces, was obliged to retire to Ahmadnagar where the Emperor died in 1707.

Aurangazeb and the English:—Disagreement between the English at Hugly and the Governor of Bengal in point of customs duties resulted in a semi-official conflict between the English and the Moghal Emperor. Sir Josiah Child, Chairman of the Company, despatched twelve ships of war to sieze Chittagong. "The expedition rashly planned and unfortunate in execution was an utter failure." Soon the English found themselves obliged to retire from Bengal. At the same time the President at Surat, under instructions from home, defied the authority of Aurangazeb, who, not only captured the English factory at Surat but issued a general order to expel the English from his dominions. Finally peace was concluded and in 1690, the English were invited to return to Hugli.

Reasons for Aurangazeb's failure:—Aurangazeb's religious fanaticism, the imposition of the hated jizya, destruction of Hindu temples and the bar on the freedom of religious worship deprived him of the willing and useful services of the Rajputs who were in open rebellion throughout his reign. His haughty distrust likewise alienated the sympathies of his trusted agents. The long drawn out Deccan wars drained the treasury. "Financial ruin involved the collapse of the whole administration. The Deccan was never intended by Nature to have any connection with Hindustan; to conquer the Deccan was risking the loss of Hindustan."

CHAPTER III.

The Rise of the Marathas.

"There was much in the times and there was more in the condition and feeling of the country favourable to Shivaji. His cause was, and appeared to be, that of the people. They had long groaned beneath a Muhammadan yoke, and some openly, all secretly, hailed a liberator of their own blood, caste and country."

Historians' History of the World.

Nature of the Country: —The narrow strip along the west, comprising Nasik, Poona, Satara districts and parts of Ahmadnagar and Sholapur, and stretching from the Satpura Hills on the north as far south as Goa, was the cradle of the Maratha kingdom. Maharastra enjoys natural advantages denied to other parts of India. The hilly nature of the country has given rise to a hardy race. "The gifts of Nature are evenly distributed to all alike on the principle of compensation." The climate is bracing and the soil being poor, the people can never afford to be idle and must depend on manual labour. Add to this, its position on the high-road between Northern India and the southern peninsula, affording scope for expansion either way.

Character of the Marathas:—"By reason of its position between the two divisions, the tableland of Maharashtra has been inhabited by a population in which

the Aryans and the Dravidians have been mixed in due proportion, so as to retain the good points of both without exaggerating their defects." The Marathas are characterised by self-reliance, courage, perseverance, a Spartan simplicity, a rough straight-forwardness, and a sense of social equality. Their inborn love of freedom was fostered by Nature who furnished them with many ready-made and easily defensible forts.

Shivaji:—The founder of the Maratha power, Shivaji, the second son of Shaji Bhonsla, was born at Shivner in 1627. He grew up to manhood under the tender care of his mother at Poona. "If ever great men owed their greatness to the inspiration of their mothers, the influence of Jigi Bai was a factor of prime importance in the making of Shivaji's career and the chief source of his strength." Early in life he was trained in the martial exercises of his race and he revealed that love of adventure and independence which characterised his life and actions. "Religious fervour, almost at white heat, bordering on the verge of self-abnegation, a daring and adventurous spirit born of a confidence that a higher power than man's protected him and his work, the magnetism of superior genius, which binds men together and leads them to victory, a rare insight into the real needs of the times, and a stead-fastness of purpose which no adverse turn of fortune could conquer, a readiness and and resourcefulness rarely met with either in European or Indian history, a true patriotism which was far in advance of the times and a sense of justice tempered with mercy,—

these were the sources of the strength that enabled Shivaji to sow the seeds of a power which accomplished in the hands of his successors all that he had planned out, and enabled his race to write a chapter in Indian history to some purpose."

First Period:—Shivaji's instinct for command and capacity for organisation found a congenial soil for exercise. He had learnt that the defence of the hill forts had been neglected by the Bijapur Government and in 1646, he began his predatory expeditions by surprising the hill fort of Torana. In the following year he added Purandhar and Kondana at the expense of Bijapur. Rajgarh was fortified. Fort after fort was captured. Elated with his success, he crossed, the Western Ghats and descended on the Konkan. The city of Kalyan was added to his territory. In the south, the Kolaba district acknowledged his sway. At this stage, the capture, imprisonment and subsequent conditional release of his father, for a time, put a check on his career of aggrandisement.

Second Period:— The years between 1649 and 1655 were therefore devoted to the consolidation of the conquests and the organisation of the administration. In 1655 the kingdom of Javli was annexed. Four years later Shivaji came into open conflict with the State of Bijapur. Afzul Khan was despatched against him. A friendly interview was arranged and Shivaji murdered his adversary in self-defence. The Bijapur army was routed. Then followed the capture of the fort of Panhala. A second army was despatched against him but

was defeated. In the end the king himself led an expedition to no purpose. Peace was concluded with Bijapur by which Shivaji was left in possession of the country from Poona to the Kistna river.

Conflict with Aurangazeb:—Shivaji had now to face the more formidable Mughal power. The first act of Aurangazeb, when he became Emperor, was to despatch Shaista Khan with a large army to crush the Marathas. The Mughal commander seized Poona and Chakan. He was surprised at night and his army was dispersed. (1663). In the following year Shivaji looted the Mughal fort of Surat. Shaista Khan was superseded by Prince Muazzim with orders to put down the Marathas. Purandar was besieged and Rajgarh was captured. Shivaji now found it politic to submit. The Treaty of Purandhar was concluded by which Shivaji agreed to deliver twenty three of his forts to the Mughal Emperor. He went to Delhi to pay homage to Aurangazeb who treated him with undisguised disdain. "Seldom was political sagacity more at fault. The rude highlander, who might have been converted into a powerful prop of the empire in the Deccan, was allowed to escape in disguise, affronted and enraged, to resume his old sway in the mountains." Shivaji returned with thoughts of revenge. Fort after fort was reconquered. The Emperor too, was not content to leave the matter here. In 1667 war began afresh. The Mughal army was worsted and Shivaji succeeded in regaining and extending his former conquests. Surat was looted and blackmail was levied in all directions. In 1674 he crowned himself king a second time. For the rest of

his life he was left alone. Jingi and Vellore were added to his kingdom. He received additional territory for the help rendered against the Mughals from the king of Bijapur.

Administration:—"Like the first Napoleon, Shivaji in his time was a great organiser and a builder of civil institutions." He had a council of ministers to help him in the task of administration. They held also military commands. The kingdom was divided into several districts with their 'Deshmukhs' and Subadars. The hill-forts with the territory around were the units of civil government. Land revenue was not farmed out but collected directly from the ryot. Justice was administered by means of *panchayats.*

The army was committed to the care of a commander-in-chief below whom was a gradation of officers. The officers were paid in cash from the treasury. This was a departure from the ordinary practice of the day of assigning extensive territories as jagirs to remunerate the officers. The separation of the military and civil departments and the subordination of the former to the latter are other notable features.

Aurangazeb and the Marathas:—"The great captain was dead but his spirit lived in the nation he had created." Aurangazeb wasted his energy in a twenty years' struggle to destroy the Maratha power and in so doing only hastened the downfall of the empire of which the foundation stone was laid by Babur.

Shivaji's Successors:—Shivaji was succeeded

by his eldest son Sambaji. He was unlike his father in many respects. He was captured by Aurangazeb and beheaded. His son Sahu was kept a prisoner at Delhi. During his absence Raja Ram, the younger son of Shivaji administered the country. On the death of Aurangazeb Sahu was released. He was crowned at Satara in 1708. The old possessions were soon recovered.

The Peshwas:—Sahu resigned all power to his chief minister Balaji Viswanath (1714) who became the founder of a line of ministers known as the Peshwas. Henceforth the history of the Marathas follows the fortunes of the Peshwas and the Rajah ceased to count. Balaji Viswanath brought order out of chaos. The right to collect *chouth* and *sardeshamukhi* from the Deccan was conceded to him by the Emperor in 1718. When Balaji died in 1720 he was succeeded by Baji Rao I. Baji Rao was a fine soldier and extended the bounds of the Maratha kingdom. Contributions were levied from Gujrat. Malwa and Bundelkhand were captured.

The Five Maratha Powers:—This was the time of the rise of the five great Maratha kingdoms. Mulhari Rao Holkar, a commander under Baji Rao founded the royal house of Indore. Ranaji Scindia was the first of the line of kings of Gwalior. Pilaji Gaekwar founded the house of Baroda. Raghuji Bhonsla established a dynasty at Nagpore. The Peshwa, the head of the Maratha Confederacy had his seat at Poona.

Nadir Shah:—The Marathas were steadily growing under their second Peshwa, when their advance was

for a time checked by the invasion of Nadir Shah, the greatest warrior Persia ever produced. At Karnal the imperial army was utterly routed. The capital was pillaged and plundered. A cruel massacre of the people ensued. At last he returned home laden with large booty including the famous pea-cock throne and the Koh-i-Nur. "Nadir Shah left the Mughal empire bleeding and prostrate." The country was thrown into confusion.

The Marathas and Ahmad Shah Durani:—The weakness of the central Government was a fine opportunity for the Marathas to extend their influence in Central and Northern India. Their power reached its zenith under their third Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao (1740—61). More and more they pressed into Hindustan and occupied the Punjab (1758) and Delhi (1760). The aggressive policy of the Marathas brought them into conflict with Ahmad Shah Durani, king of Kabul, who recovered the Punjab and marched against the imperial capital. The Marathas met the Afghan army at Paniput, where so often the fate of India had been decided. The former sustained a severe defeat (1761). The Maratha power was broken and the Peshva never recovered from the shock of the defeat.

Causes for the Decline of the Mughal Empire:—The disruption of the Mughul empire followed the death of Aurangazeb. He was succeeded by a line of worthless and incapable rulers. His suspicious nature had crushed the Mughal dauntless spirit out of his own sons. The nobles were of a piece with the royal

family. The Mughal army was weak and demoralised. Mughul despotism was the rule of one man. There was too much centralisation of power. "The tedious war in the Deccan exhausted Aurangazeb's army and destroyed his prestige and no sooner was the dominating mind stilled in death, than all the forces that he had sternly controlled, all the warring elements that struggled for emancipation from the grinding yoke, broke out in irrepressible tumult." The empire had overgrown and the weakness of the central Government hastened the formation of separate kingdoms. Aurangazeb is sometimes accused of political blindness in his policy towards Bijapur and Golconda. "But this criticism," says Sarkar, "misses the cardinal fact of Deccan politics in the seventeenth century. A union of hearts between Bijapore or Golconda and the Mughul empire was a psychological impossibility." In its dying stage the empire was hacked to pieces by foreign invaders. Aurangazeb's narrow bigotry led to the ruin of the great empire which Akbar's broad-minded statesmanship had built.

CHAPTER IV.

Rise of British Power in India.

"Sea-power had given the English their first hold on India, and by sea-power British dominion was saved more than once in the eighteenth century. The decline of the Dutch navy at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the subsequent naval defeats of the French, left England alone in a position to profit by the fall of the Mughals." Pollard.

Introductory:—The rise of British power in India falls into two well marked divisions. The first period was taken up with the rivalry among European nations, which from its humble beginnings in commerce developed into a conflict for territorial sovereignty. The second period was marked by the contest between the English and native powers, not for commercial superiority but for political ascendancy. The former comes to a close with the termination of the Seven Years' War, (1763) and of the struggle between England and France for supremacy in India, while the latter begins with the quarrel between the English and Suraj-ud-Daula.

The French in India:—The French appeared late in the East. The French East India Company was founded in 1664 under the auspices of Colbert, the minister of Louis XIV. When they made their appearance, the

Portuguese had dropped out of the struggle for commercial supremacy in the East. Their place had for a time been taken up by the Dutch, whose activities were more or less confined to the Malay Archipelago. The long continued European struggle exhausted their energy and with the decline of their naval power they withdrew from competing for predominance in the East. In the eighteenth century it was England and France that contended for mastery in India. In 1674 Pondicherry was founded which became the seat of French Government in the East. Chandranagore and Hugli were founded in 1688. Besides those mentioned above, they had Mahe, Karikal and Yanon. Outside India, they had Mauritius and Bourbon. In point of strength, wealth and trade the French possessions were only second to those of the British.

The Political Condition of India in the Eighteenth Century:—The Mughal empire began to break up with the death of Aurangazeb. The invasion of Nadir Shah which "dealt the death-blow to the Mughal Government in a state of mortal collapse," served to increase the confusion and strengthen the disruptive forces in the empire. Independent principalities were founded on the ruins of the empire. In the north, Bengal and Oudh broke loose from subjection to Delhi. The Rajputs and the Rohillas set up independent kingdoms. The Marathas were supreme in Central India. In the South, Hyderabad and Mysore were practically sovereign States.

The First Carnatic War:—The contest between the English and the French for supremacy in India began in 1744. "The declaration of war in Europe gave the signal for beginning the first act of a dramatic contest that was to determine the issue whether France or England should win a great dominion in South Asia." The French fleet under Labourdounais took Madras. The English put themselves under the protection of the Nawab of the Carnatic who sent an army to capture Fort St. George from the French. The Nawab's forces were easily dispersed. The action revealed the fatal weakness of the Asiatic army against well trained European soldiers. It also led to the important discovery that natives drilled in Europeon fashion would make fine soldiers. The French stormed Fort St. David but failed to capture it. The English attempt to capture Pondicherry was like-wise a failure. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 conclud-ed the war and the English got back Madras.

Disputed Succession in the Deccan:— It was Dupleix, the French Governor of Pondicherry, who originated the policy of interfering in the internal politics of the country. His ambition was to establish French power in India and in the disputes among native powers he found an opportunity and ample scope for the exercise of his fertile genius. The Nizam of Hyderabad died in 1748. Nasir Jang seized the throne. Muzaffar Jang, a grandson of the Nizam, turned to Dupleix for aid. Hyderabad politics affected the Carnatic, where Chanda

Sahib disputed the title of Anwaruddin to be Nawab and applied to the Governor of Pondicherry for help. With the aid of French forces Anwaruddin was defeated and slain at Ambur in 1749. His son Muhammad Ali fled to Trichinopoly. Chanda Sahib was proclaimed Nawab. The murder of Nasir Jang by his own soldiers and the accession of Muzaffar Jang were a triumph for Dupleix. In recognition of his services he was made the titular Governor of the Carnatic from the Kistna to Cape Comerin. The French were also rewarded by the cession of the Northern Circars.

Siege of Arcot:—It was Dupleix's ambition which drew in the English into the vortex of Indian politics. They were obliged to take sides in the war and support Muhammad Ali who was closely besieged at Trichinopoly by Chanda Sahib with the aid of the French. A small detachment was sent to relieve him. The safety of the English settlements dictated other effective means of interference. A bold plan of attacking Arcot, the defence of which was neglected by Chanda Sahib was hit upon and executed by Robert Clive, an officer in the army. The capture of the city had the desired effect of diverting Chanda Sahib's attention and energy. Troops were despatched under his son Raja Sahib to recover Arcot which was successfully defended by Clive. The siege was abandoned and Raja Sahib was defeated at Arni and Cauveripak (1751). Chanda Sahib withdrew from Trichinopoly, fled, was captured and executed. Muhammad Ali was proclaimed Nawab of the

Carnatic. The English triumphed in the Carnatic; but the French were still supreme in Hyderabad.

Recall of Dupleix:—Dupleix's ambition of founding a French Empire in India was squashed by the genius of Clive. "Dupleix was a man of original political instinct, of an impervious and morally intrepid disposition, who embarked upon wide and somewhat audacious schemes of oriental dominion, and lost the stakes for which he played more through want of strength and continuous support than want of skill." His policy did not find favour with the French Government. The Company was threatened with financial ruin. This coupled with the weakness of the French navy induced the government to recall Dupleix, "the most striking figure in the short Indian episode of that long and arduous contest for trans-marine dominion, which was fought between France and England in the eighteenth century."

The Seven-Years' War:—"The last act of the tragedy for France lingered over the period of the Seven-Years' War from 1756 to '63." The outbreak of war in Europe re-opened the struggle between England and France for supremacy in India. Count-de-Lally was sent out as commander-in-chief and Governor-General of French settlements in India. Fort St. David easily fell into his hands. Preparations were made to invest Madras, and Bussy was called upon to join. The withdrawal of French troops from the Deccan facilitatad the conquest of the Northern Circars by Col. Forde. The

English fleet saved Madras. Sir Eyre Coote defeated the French at Wandiwash. Pondicherry was invested and captured (1761). Chandranagore in Bengal had fallen into Clive's hands. The Peace of Paris ended the war. Pondicherry and Chandranagore were restored to the French. The English kept the Northern Circars. It was a victory for sea-power. From the fall of Pondicherry may be dated the end of the struggle between England and the maritime nations of Europe for commerce and political ascendancy in India. The French East India Company was dissolved in 1770 and the French finally dropped out.

Causes for the failure of the French:—The failure of the French demands explanation. In constitution, enterprise and wealth, the French East India Company was inferior to the English. The interference of the French Government was intolerable. The share-holders being assured of fixed dividends lacked the incentive to enterprise and took little interest in the affairs of the Company. The French made no effort to emulate the English in their characteristic spirit of bold, individual and corporate effort. Engaged in endless wars in Europe and America, the French Government had not the wherewithal to carry out their ambitious schemes in India. The command of the sea, which remained in British hands, was an important factor decidedly in favour of their rivals. "Neither Bussy nor Dupleix singly, nor both combined, had a chance of success against the government which controlled the sea-routes and the resources of the Gangetic valley."

B. Events in Bengal:—The gradual elimination of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French from competition for commerce and political power in the East left the field clear for the English. In the struggle between Europeans themselves, the Native Powers had the best chance of regaining their lost power by setting the skill of one westerner against another. There never was a finer opportunity than that afforded by the rivalry between England and France for an aspiring and scheming prince to establish his supremacy. But left alone, most of the States dropped out like rotten fruits falling from a tree, while others resisted fiercely but without avail.

Events leading to the battle of Plassey: 1757. We must now follow the fortunes of the English in Bengal, where they came into conflict with the Nawab. Suraj-ud-Daula was installed as Nawab of Bengal, just when the English, in anticipation of hostilities with the French, were putting Fort William into a state of defence. Order was given to stop the work of fortifications, which was disobeyed. Consequently Suraj captured the English factory at Kassimbazar near Murshidabad, the capital of Bengal and attacked Fort William. The surrender of Calcutta was followed by what is known in history as the Black Hole tragedy.

As soon as the news of the fall of Calcutta reached Madras, a decision was quickly arrived at, and Clive and Admiral Watson were chosen to command an expedition despatched by sea. Hugli was successfully stormed and Calcutta was recaptured. A peace was concluded with

Suraj-ud-Doula. Meanwhile the Seven Years' War had begun in Europe and the French settlement of Chandranagore was captured by Watson and Clive. Suraj began to intrigue with the French. Clive, thereupon resolved to depose him and entered into a secret treaty with Mir Jafar, the Paymaster of the Nawab's forces. The deception practised on Omichund by Robert Clive need not detain us here. When everything was ready Clive marched against the Nawab and encountered him at Plassey. The battle secured the position of the English in the rich plains of Bengal. "To advance into Bengal was to penetrate India by its soft and unprotected side." Henceforward the overthrow of the French was assured.

Mir Jafar:—Suraj was deposed and Mir Jafar was made Nawab. Clive and other members of the English Council received handsome rewards. The company obtained zamindari rights over the Twenty-four Parganas. In 1758 Clive was appointed Governor of Bengal. In the following year the Shahzada, the future Shah Alam II with the aid of Shuja-ud-Dowla, Nawab of Oudh, invaded Bihar. Before they could effect their purpose, Clive marched against them and compelled them to retire. The same year saw another war with the Dutch. Mir Jafar anxious to free himself from the control of the English, intrigued with the Dutch at Chinsura. They were defeated at Biderra and their ships were captured. The action was short but decisive and resulted in the entire submission of the Dutch and their final disappearance from the field of Indian politics.

Mir Kasim:—During Clive's absence in England between 1760 and 65 the Company's affairs were much mismanaged. There were constant disputes between the Company and Mir Jafar. The Nawab was found incapable and it was thought expedient to dethrone him. Consequently in 1760 Mir Kasim, a son-in-law of Mir Jafar was promoted to the place. Mir Kasim began his rule by ceding to the Company the districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong. Shah Alam, Emperor of Delhi, once more invaded Bihar. He was, however, beaten back with the aid of English troops.

Mir Kasim was a capable ru ler and longed to free himself from the control of the Company. With that object in view he retired from Murshidabad to Monghi-three hundred miles away from Calcutta. He next organisr ed an army drilled in European fashion and soon found an opportunity to pick a quarrel with the English. The Company's servants were enjoying the privilege of carrying on private trade throughout the country free of duties. The right was very often abused with the result, the Nawab's revenue dwindled. When it became clear that the Company's servants would not give up their rights, Mir Kasim abolished all transit duties and thus placed his subjects on a par with the Company's servants. This offended the English. The Nawab's forces captured Patna and the English factory at Kassimbazar. The prisoners were put to death. Patna was retaken by the English. Defeated in two pitched battles Mir Kasim sought refuge with the Nawab of Oudh. Shah Alam and Shuja-ud-

Daula united their forces in support of Mir Kasim, and took the field against the English at Buxar (1764). Major Hector Munro gained a decisive victory. Mir Kasim fled. The Emperor submitted. In the following year, the capture of the fortresses of Chunar and Allahabad brought Shuja-ud-Daula to subjection. The battle of Buxar completed the work of Plassey.

Mir Jafar and his successors :—Mir Jafar was restored in 1763. On his death two years later, his son was set up as Nawab. The same year Clive arrived on the scene of his labours as Governor of Bengal for a second time. One of his first acts was to proceed to Allahabad, where the Emperor was a prisoner under the English.

Treaty of Allahabad, 1765:—An agreement was entered into between the titular Emperor and the Company. Shah Alam granted the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in return for an annual tribute of twenty-six lacs of rupees. The districts of Korah and Allahabad cut off from the dominion of Oudh were also handed over to the Emperor. With a view to interpose a friendly buffer-state between the Marathas and the Company's possessions, Clive restored Oudh to the Nawab Vizier who was also made to contribute fifty lacs of rupees towards the expenses of the war. The treaty of Allahabad gave the Company a formal title to their conquests.

Reforms :—The Nawab of Bengal was shorn of all his authority. Yet the administration was conducted in his name. The Company collected the revenue and paid

the puppet Nawab and his officials. The work of revenue collection was entrusted to native officers who were also the guardians of law and justice. The legal fiction of native rule when real power centred in the Company was bound to be a failure. Divided responsibility is in truth the negation of all responsibility.

Clive also reorganised the services. The Company officials were prohibited from engaging in private trade and receiving presents. In return for the loss they sustained, they received substantial increase of pay. His endeavours in this direction were not altogether quite successful. Private trade in salt, betel-nut and tobacco was permitted. Under orders from the Directors he abolished the double batta enjoyed by soldiers. There was a mutiny of European officers and Clive met the situation boldly.

Having laid the foundations of a British Empire in India where twenty-three years before, his countrymen owned but three plots, no bigger than stepping-stones, Clive left India for good. His military genius and his capacity to command and inspire were displayed both in the Peninsula and in Bengal. His organising abilities were made manifest during his second administration. He brought to his work an inflexible will and unflinching courage that never quailed at the sight of dangerous situations.

C. Rise of Haidar Ali:—The scene now changes from Bengal to South India, where a new and formidable rival had arisen in the person of Haidar Ali. "Most

versatile in his talents, Haidar was no less adventurous in his career; by turns a private man devoted to sports of the chase, a captain of free-booters, a partisan chief, a rebel against the Rajah of Mysore and a commander-in-chief of the Mysorean army." The condition of the Hindu kingdom of Mysore in the middle of the eighteenth century afforded ample scope for the rise of a bold adventurer. The disputed succession in 1766 was an opportunity for Haidar to throw off the mask and displace the Rajah.

The First Mysore War:—Haidar's first care when he came to rule was to get his troops trained by French officers. He pursued his ambitious career by extending his frontiers northwards to the river Kistna. Malabar was added to his territory. The Marathas on the north-west, the Nizam on the north and the English in the east, formed an offensive and defensive alliance against the Sultan of Mysore. Where strength would not avail art succeeded. Hyder was too diplomatic. He bought off the Marathas and won over the Nizam. Having thus isolated the English, he took the field against them. The joint forces of Haidar and the Nizam were defeated at Trincomali (1767) by Col. Smith. But Haidar soon recovered his position, collected a fresh army, surprised the English at Madras and dictated a treaty by which both the parties accepted a defensive alliance and mutual restitution of conquests.

CHAPTER V.

Expansion of British Power in India. 1772-1805.

"It was in this period that the contest for supremacy between the English and the military powers of India began in earnest, that the attention of Parliament became fixed upon Indian affairs, and that the organisation of English Government in India was for the first time seriously attempted."—*Lyall.*

A. Warren Hastings:—Administrative Changes:—Clive has been called the military founder of the British power in India. Warren Hastings claims the distinction of being the organiser of British administration in India. One of his first acts was to do away with Clive's dual system of government which had in no way justified its existence. The fiction of ruling in the name of the Nawab had failed. The Company now stood forth as direct ruler and Diwan. The exchequer was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta. A Board of Revenue, consisting of European officials was constituted at Fort William. Land revenue was farmed out for a fixed period and European officers known as Collectors were appointed to superintend the work of revenue collections in each district. In every district civil and criminal courts presided over by Collectors were created. Two courts of

appeal were established at Calcutta. The zamindars were deprived of their judicial and magisterial powers. The responsibility for the preservation of order was entrusted to police officers. The manufacture of opium and salt was brought under government control. The reorganisation of the service, revenue and judicial reforms, and the creation of the police were the achievements of Hastings on which rests his real claim to the gratitude of posterity.

The Regulating Act:—Warren Hastings' initial difficulties arose out of the constitutional clauses of the Regulating Act. The financial collapse of the Company revealed by the application for a loan to the Ministry at home and the masterless administrative confusion resulting from divided responsibility necessitated the interference of Lord North's Government. Two Acts were passed; one of which dealt with the financial questions, the other known as the Regulating Act became the first Indian constitution. The Company's administration was subjected to parliamentary control. The Act laid down that the government of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was to be vested in a Governor-General and Council of four members. A Supreme Court of judicature with five judges was set up at Fort William.

The Act reduced the Governor-General to a zero, as he could be over-ruled by a hostile majority in council. It led to frequent dissensions, bitter altercations and foul intrigues of the opposition. The jurisdiction of the Executive and the Supreme Court being left undefined, a conflict between the two was inevitable.

"Hastings, the first of Company's Governors-Genera became the scape-goat of an awkward and unmanageable governing apparatus, hampered by divided authority and distracted by party feuds in Calcutta and London".

Nandkumar.—Nothing proves more effectively than the incident of Nandkumar the havoc wrought by a hostile council and the calumny heaped upon the head of the Executive by his colleagues determined upon his ruin. Rajah Nandkumar secretly incited by Hastings' enemies in the Council accused the Governor-General of gross corruption. Hastings preferred a counter-charge of conspiracy against the Hindu. Before long Nandkumar was arrested on a charge of forgery. The Brahmin was put on trial before a court of four judges presided over by Sir Elijah Impey. The verdict of a unanimous jury of twelve Europeans went against him and he was hanged. The Nandkumar tragedy was the culmination of the disastrous struggle of the Governor-General with his Council. The final collapse of the intriguing opposition came when one of the Councillors died. The power of exercising the casting vote gave Warren Hastings the majority.

Financial difficulties.—The greatest of Warren Hastings' difficulties was financial embarassment. His foremost effort, therefore, was to improve the finance and make Bengal pay. As the titular Nawab of Bengal had ceased to reign, his pension was cut down by one half to sixteen laces of rupees. The office of Deputy Nawab was done away with. Hastings next stopped the

stipulated annual tribute of twenty-six lacs of rupees to Shah Alam II on the ground that he had broken faith with the English by transferring himself from English protection to that of the Marathas. A sum of fifty lacs was realised by the sale of Korah and Allahabad to the Nawab of Oudh. The participation of the British in the Rohilla War brought another sum of forty lacs. Hastings in dire need of funds tapped all possible sources and levied forced contributions from Chait Singh and the Begums of Oudh. The last mentioned were the most important of the several charges preferred against Hastings before the bar of the House of Lords. "He was sacrificed for party exigencies, and few men of equal rank have sufferred so cruelly as Warren Hastings from the malice of personal enemies, the wild onslaught of party orators and writers and the misconception of one-sided critics."

Foreign Policy:—1. The First Maratha War. 1775—1782.—In the midst of domestic troubles, foreign politics demanded Hastings' attention. Madhu Rao, the fourth Peshwa died in 1772. He was succeeded by his brother Narayan Rao, who was murdered by his uncle Ragunath Rao. Ragunath Rao assumed the title of Peshwa. There arose a strong party, under the leadership of Nana Furnavis which supported the claim of the posthumous child of Narayan Rao. Raghunath Rao was ejected and a regency was set up at Poona. The Bombay Government anxious to emulate the example of Madras and Bengal supported the candidature of Raghunath Rao and entered into a treaty with him at Surat by

which in return for help he agreed to cede Salsette and Bassein to the English. Before obtaining sanction of the Supreme Government at Calcutta, the Bombay Government embarked upon war and occupied Salsette and Bassein, but were disastrously defeated at Arras.

Warren Hastings in virtue of his capacity as Governor-General, disapproved the action of the Bombay Government and entered into a covenant with Nana Furnavis at Purandhar (1776). But the Court of Directors supported the Bombay Government. In 1778 the Bombay army marched on Poona. The enterprise ended in ignominious failure. The disgraceful Convention of Wargaon (1779) was signed. Hastings threw the treaty to the winds and decided to support the Bombay Government. Goddard was despatched from Bengal. Ahmadabad was occupied. An alliance was formed with the Gaekawar of Baroda. In the following year Gwalior was captured. The war was concluded by the treaty of Salbai (1782). Raghunath Rao became Peshwa. Salsette was retained by the English. The treaty is a landmark in the history of the growth of British dominion in India, since it heralded a period of peace with the Marathas and marked the ascendancy of the English as the controlling power in India.

The Second Mysore War : 1779—1784 :— "Throughout this period—that is during the last quarter of the eighteenth century—the balance of power in India rested upon a kind of triangular equipoise between the English, and the Marathas and Mysore." The reckless conduct

of the Madras Government converted an ally into an implacable enemy. Haidar Ali made common cause with the Marathas and the Nizam. A triple alliance of the southern powers was organised. But Hastings' diplomacy won over the Marathas. The Nizam was bought off by the restoration of the Guntur district. Meanwhile the support given by France to the revolted Colonies in America led to hostilities between the English and the French in India. Pondicherry was captured and Mahe on the west coast was taken, notwithstanding the protest of Haidar Ali. Haidar retaliated by invading the Carnatic. The country was laid waste. A detachment under Baillie was defeated. The Governor-General lost no time in despatching Sir Eyre Coote to retrieve the disaster. Haidar was defeated in four successive engagements, at Porto Novo, Pallilore, Sholingar and Arni. On his death in 1782 his son Tippu prosecuted the war. In the following year the French withdrew from the field. Mangalore was captured and the war was brought to a close by the Treaty of Mangalore by which the parties mutually agreed to restore their conquests.

Pitt's India Act: 1784 :—In 1784, Pitt carried through Parliament his Act for the better government of India. The Company's administration was brought under the Crown. The superintendence and control over all civil, military and revenue affairs of the Company were vested in a Board of Control consisting of six Commissioners appointed by the Crown. The Board met only once, and its function was performed by the President.

Important communications from the Board were to be sent though a Committee of Secrecy consisting of the Directors of the Company. The Government of India was vested in the Governor-General and three Councillors, "whose authority over the minor presidencies was complete on all matters of diplomacy, of peace and war and of the application of the revenues. To pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India were declared repugnant to the wish, the honour and policy of the British nation." The system of double government of the Crown and Company set up by Pitt subsisted until 1858. The Act was precise and clear in defining authority. The Executive had much to gain from its attempt to place power and responsibility on a plain and incontestable basis. It also strengthened the Governor-General by bringing him into closer contact with the Government at home.

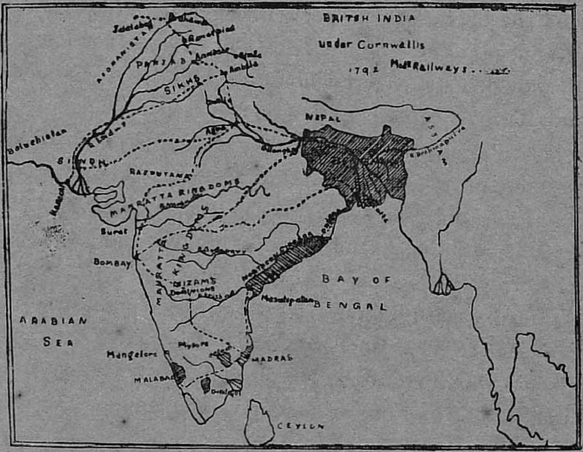
B. Cornwallis:—Reforms in Administration:— "If the foundation of the system of civil administration had been laid by Warren Hastings, the superstructure was raised by Cornwallis." The removal of abuses and the reform of services were the things that engaged the attention of Lord Cornwallis during the first years of his administration. The private and irregular gains the Company's servants were making, were forbidden. The Directors were induced to compensate the loss by raising the pay of their servants. Cornwallis was in reality the founder of the civil service.

He believed in the separation of powers. Consequent-

ly the Collectors were deprived of their judicial powers; they had merely revenue work. The civil courts in the districts were placed under European Judges. Four provincial Appellate Courts were created and judges were sent on circuit. The District Judges controlled the police and exercised magisterial powers.

The Permanent Revenue Settlement:—The act, which has earned for him the gratitude of millions and which is most familiarly associated with the name of Cornwallis, is the Permanent Settlement of the land revenue of Bengal, Bihar, the Benares Province and part of Orissa. Land revenue has been the mainstay and the principal source of income of the Indian Government. Formerly the revenue was collected by means of middlemen known as zamindars whose remuneration took the shape of a commission of the collections. Warren Hastings followed the farming system. Under this system the zamindars squeezed the ryots and thus increased their ill-gotten gains. Lord Cornwallis believed that the best means to relieve the ryots from the extortion of middlemen was to fix the land revenue once and for ever. The Act of 1793 settled the sum payable for all time to the Government by the zamindar and the rent to be collected by him from the ryots. Under this Act the zamindars became the owners of lands. As a result of the Permanent Settlement more land came under cultivation and substantial improvements were effected which have increased the prosperity of the agricultural population.

INDIA IN 1793.



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Third Mysore War :—The invasion of Travancore, which was under British protection, by Tippu Sultan, overcame Cornwallis's desire for peace. The Governor-General formed a triple alliance with the Nizam and the Marathas. The allied armies marched into Mysore. Dindigul and Malabar were occupied. In 1791 Cornwallis assumed command of the army and conducted the operations in person. Bangalore capitulated after a siege. The English victory at Arikera was followed by two defeats. Cornwallis forced his way to Seringapatam, Tippu's capital. When further resistance appeared hopeless, Tippu concluded a treaty surrendering half his dominions, paying a heavy war indemnity and delivering his two sons as hostages. The English obtained as their share Malabar, Coorg and parts of Salem and Madura. Lord Cornwallis is accused of want of political foresight in his dealing with Tippu. It is however forgotten that the annexation of Mysore would then have earned for the English the distrust of the Nizam and the Marathas and offended public and official feeling in England.

C. Sir John Shore :—The administration of Sir John Shore is spoken of as a parenthesis in Indian history. He was a man of peace. He followed a policy of strict neutrality which produced dangerous results. Tippu and the Marathas had much to gain from his policy of non-intervention. English prestige suffered much. The 'pacific inaction' of Sir John Shore had the effect of substituting French for British influence in the courts and councils of native powers. In the year of his

appointment the charter was renewed for another period of twenty years. The first attack on the Company's monopoly of trade came in the form of a concession of three thousand tons of shipping to private merchants trading with the East.

D. Marquis of Wellesley: 1798-1805 :— Lord Wellesley was a man of action. The cardinal principle of his policy was to raise the British to the position of the paramount power in India, the prelude to which was the complete effacement of the French from Indian politics. It was the time of the Revolutionary War in Europe. Napoleon had his design on India. Consequently the governing idea of Wellesley was to frustrate it. When Tippu's negotiations for an offensive and defensive alliance with the French became known, Wellesley, who had no doubt as to the Sultan's intentions, demanded an explanation. Tippu was required to disband the French soldiers in his service. His answers were evasive and war was declared. The Nizam also took part in the war. Tippu was defeated at Malavelli and took refuge in his capital. Seringapatam was stormed and the Sultan died fighting bravely. A large portion of the kingdom was annexed by the British and the Nizam, and the remnant equal in extent to the old State was restored to the representantive of the old Hindu royal family. The Rajah being a boy, a Council of Regency was formed to govern the country. The English got Kanara and all the land across the peninsula between the Coromandel and the Malabar Coast. The one great result

of the war was to remove an inveterate enemy of the English. The territorial adjustments after the war gave the English complete command of the southern peninsula and closed the doors for French intrusion or intrigue.

The Subsidiary System :—Wellesley's avowed object was to destroy the hopes of France in Asia and to establish English paramountcy in India. He sought to gain this end by means of subsidiary treaties with the Native States whereby the contracting party was required to dismiss foreigners in his service and to rely for external defence and internal security on the military strength of the British. The system reduced the native powers into tributary Governments dependent on the paramount power for support. It closed the door for foreign competition and put an end to all internecine quarrels between States and made the combination of native powers against the English impossible.

The first victim to Wellesley's policy was the Nizam of Hyderabad. A treaty of alliance was concluded by which he disbanded the French battalions and accepted British troops. In place of annual cash payment for the maintenance of the subsidiary force he transferred to the Company, Bellary and Cuddapa, his recent acquisitions from the Fourth Mysore War.

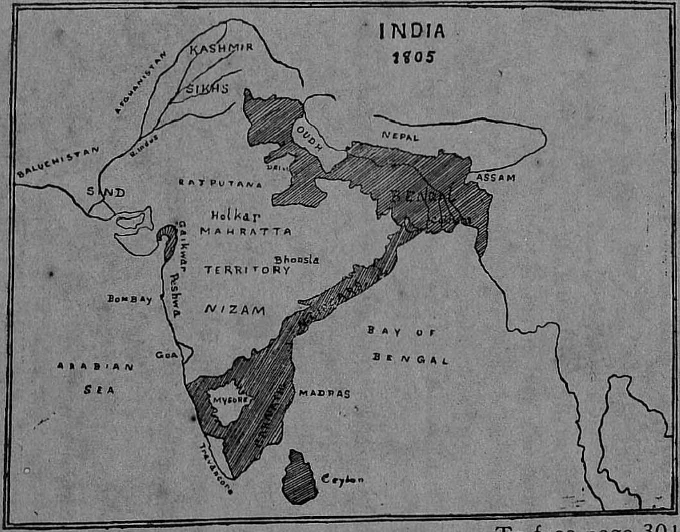
The Nawab of Oudh also was in no condition to resist the proposals of Wellesley. He entered into a subsidiary treaty in 1801 by which, in return for British protection, he made over to the Company the districts of of Rohilkhand, the Doab and Gorakhpur. The Company

thus acquired some of the richest and most populous districts in the heart of India. But Oudh affords a conspicuous example of the evils inherent in the system of subsidiary alliances namely misgovernment and oppression.

Annexations:— Wellesley extended British dominion also by other means. A disputed succession at Tanjore gave him a pretext to annex that principality (1792.) The death of the Nawab of Surat was availed of to absorb his territory. The province of the Carnatic was annexed on the ground of internal misgovernment and intrigue with Tippu. The objective in all these annexations was to form and link up the Madras Presidency with the province of Bengal.

Second Maratha War:—Mysore, Hyderabad, and Oudh having been brought under British protection, the Marathas were the only formidable power to be counted as rivals of the British. As the three leading Maratha chiefs Scindia, Holkar and Bhonslae were fighting among themselves for supremacy, the time was most opportune for Wellesley to interpose with an offer of protection to the Peshwa. Baji Rao II had earned the undying enmity of Jaswant Rao Holkar who marched upon Poona. Baji Rao was defeated, and had to escape to Bassein, where he entered into a subsidiary alliance with the English. General Wellesley escorted Baji Rao to Poona, where he was reinstalled. The Treaty of Bassein struck at the root of the Maratha Confederacy. Scindia and Bhonslae suspended their mutual quarrel and

India in 1805



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prepared to resist. Holkar and Gaekawar held aloof. Ahmadnagar was occupied by Wellesley. The decisive victories of Assaye and Argaum broke the power of the Marathas in the Deccan. Bhonslae put himself under the protection of the British and ceded Cuttack and Berar. The latter became a province of the Nizam's dominion.

In Northern India General Lake took Aligarah, defeated Scindia at the battle of Delhi, entered the capital, inflicted on him a final defeat at Laswari and compelled him to sign the subsidiary treaty, by which he accepted British troops and surrendered in addition to Delhi and Agra, the districts between the Ganges and the Jumna.

Holkar who had so far watched the march of events determined on war. He defeated Col. Monson in the Mukund Dara Pass in Rajputana. The Rajah of Bharatpur renounced British alliance. Holkar was defeated at Deeg (1801.) Bharatpur was besieged and the Rajah came to terms.

The extension of British dominion, the exclusion of foreigners and the establishment of British sovereignty were the key-note of Wellesley's policy. He achieved all his aims. With Clive, Hastings and Dalhousie, he ranks as a great builder of the British Empire in India. "Not only were the additions which he made to the Empire important in themselves, but the political methods by which he built up the British power have survived to our own day."

CHAPTER IV.

Consolidation of British Power.

"We have seen how French rivalry accelerated our earlier conquests; and how at a later time the correspondence of native princes with France, or the presence of French officers in the Indian armies, aroused English susceptibility. It has been shown how this furnished Lord Wellesley with the necessary leverage for driving onward his policy of bringing into subjection or subordinate alliance every Muhammadan or Maratha State that might cross our path toward undisputed predominance in the interior of India. In the same manner the intelligence of Napoleon's projects first diverted our attention from the seaboard to our land frontiers, and first launched the British Government upon that much larger expanse of Asiatic war and diplomacy in which it has ever since been, with intervals, engaged." Lyall.

A Period of Reaction:—The departure of Wellesley from India was followed by an interval of reaction. Lord Cornwallis retured to India as Governor-General in 1805 and reversed the policy of his predecessor. This policy of non-interference was pursued by his successor Sir George Barlow. The war with Holkar was wound up and the protective treaties with the Rajputs were cancelled. If Sir George Barlow had faithfully carried out the views that were pressed upon him, the

result would have been to abandon the advantageous position secured by the masterly policy of Wellesley.

Lord Minto and the Frontier Problem:—The arrival of Lord Minto in 1807 as Governor-General gave a turn to the reactionary tendencies. Rumours of a French invasion by way of the north-west passes, Napoleon's mission to the Shah of Persia (1808) and the activities of the French agents at other Asiatic courts demonstrated the utter futility of persvering in the neutral policy. Minto sent embassies to Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Punjab, to the Afghan Amir at Kabul and to the Shah of Persia. A treaty was concluded with Ranjit Singh in 1809, recognising the Sutlej as the boundary between the Sikh and the British territories.

Conquest of the French Islands:—Soon after Lord Minto assumed charge, Europe was thrown into the turmoil of a great war. The British Government resolved upon capturing the French islands. Lord Minto fitted up an expedition. The French were ejected from Java. The Spice islands were occupied quickly. Abercombi captured Mauritius and Bourbon. When the war terminated England was confirmed in the possession of the Cape, Ceylon and Mauritius.

Renewal of the Charter:—Public feeling in England ran high against the monopoly of trade enjoyed by the East India Company. Consequently when the charter was renewed in 1813, the trade with the East was thrown open. The Company, however, retained the exclusive monopoly of trade with China.

Marquis of Hastings:—A Review of the Position:—"Of the States within India, not one could now measure its strength against our power and resources." British paramountcy was undisputed. Six of the most important Native States had already put themselves under British protection. In the North Oudh, in the West Baroda and Poona, in the Deccan Hyderabad, Mysore and Travancore, had become tributary States. Beyond the British territories were the rising kingdoms of the Punjab and Nepal, of which the former was an ally of the English. In Central India alone, the three Maratha powers of Gwalior, Indore and Nagpore had not come under British suzerainty.

War with Nepal, 1814-16:—The absorption of the Gorakhpur district by subsidiary treaty with Oudh, pushed British frontiers up to the limits of the Gurkha territory. The Gurkhas were a warlike race who had made themselves masters of the hilly country of Nepal. Gradually extending their conquests, they began to encroach upon lands under British protection. Finally they occupied and annexed two British districts, and war was declared. The first operations of the English failed. The initial disasters were however soon retrieved. Almorah, the capital of Kumaon was occupied. The strong fortress of Malon was taken. The Gurkhas were defeated in two battles and Katmandu their capital was threatened. This brought them to terms. The Treaty of Segouli was concluded by which the provinces of Garhwal and Kumaon were added to

British dominion. The Rajah of Sikhim accepted the British protection. A British Resident was received at Katmandu. The little kingdom of Nepal, though independent, has ever since remained an ally of the British. The Gurkhas soon began to enlist themselves as soldiers in the service of the Company. "The Gurkha regiments have become one of the most efficient and trustworthy elements of the Indian army. Their services in many fields, and notably in France and elsewhere during the Great War, are more or less familiar to every body".

The Pindaris :— Lord Hastings now turned his attention to Central India, where a band of free-booters, known as the Pindaris, plundered and tortured the people. "Nothing was safe from the pursuit of Pindari lust or avarice ; it was their common practice to burn and destroy what could not be carried away ; and, in the wantonness of barbarity, to ravish and murder women and children under the eyes of their husbands and parents." Taking advantage of the Nepal War they raided British territory. In 1816 they pillaged the Northern Circars. Thereupon the Governor-General resolved to crush the marauders.

Adequate preparations were made for war. They were supplemented by Hastings's diplomacy. The Marathas were suspected of secretly encouraging the Pindaris. A treaty of alliance was entered into between the English and the Peshwa, Scindia, Bhonslae and the Rajput princes Bhopal, of Udaipur and Jodhpur. "Having thus detached the principal Maratha powers, Lord Hastings drew his

fatal circle around the Pindaris." The plan of operation was an encircling movement. Karim Khan, one of their leaders surrendered and was given the estate of Ganeshpur. Chitu, their notorious chief fled into the jungles. A vast section of the Pindaris settled down as peaceful cultivators and labourers.

Third Maratha War:—The Peshwa grew impatient of the British yoke and anxious to free himself from subjection, attacked the British forces at Kirkee. This was his first and last resistance. Repulsed in his attack he fled. Being pursued he surrendered to the British. The other Maratha powers followed the example of the Peshwa. The Bhonslae army attacked Sitabaldi but was routed. Holkar's troops were defeated at Mahidpur.

Lord Hastings annexed the Peshwa's dominion. Baji Rao II retired on pension. Thus ended the rule of the Peshwa which had lasted a hundred years. Satara was constituted a separate kingdom under a descendant of Shivaji. Appa Sahib Bhonslae was deposed, and the Sagar and Narbada territories were annexed. The Nagpur State also ceded certain districts and entered into a subsidiary treaty.

The Achievement of Lord Hastings :—Lord Hastings's achievement was the formation of the Bombay Presidency, the complete break up of the Maratha power, and the establishment of peace. "The occupation of Singapore (1819) by Lord Hastings was a service to the Empire, hardly second to his unification of India and

the consolidation of the British authority in that country." Education was encouraged. The judicial system of Cornwallis had completely broken down. The courts had ceased to function. The separation of powers had failed. Lord Hastings therefore combined the offices of Collector and District Magistrate. The Ryotwari settlement of the Madras Presidency was carried out during his regime.

Lord Ahmerst and the First Burmese War:—The Chief event of Lord Ahmerst's administration was the First Burmese War. The kingdom of Burma was founded in 1757 by Alompra. Arakan, Martaban, and Tenasserim were conquered at various dates. In 1821 Assam was annexed. The Burmese raid into Kachar led to open war with the English. The English army landed in Rangoon. Maha Bandula, the Burmese General, was defeated, Manipur was occupied. The Burmese withdrew from Kachar and were driven from Assam. The treaty of Yandabo concluded the war. Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim were ceded to the British. The King at Ava further promised to pay a war indemnity of a crore of rupees. The Burmese war is made memorable by the employment for the first time of steamships in Indian naval warfare.

Lord William Bentinck:—Bentinck's term of office was not marked by any brilliant victory or great extension of territory. The only annexation he made, namely Coorg, was in consonance with the unanimous wish of the people. "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." His administration was one of

those quiet times of material and moral progress. Two of his memorable acts were the abolition of Sati and the suppression of the Thugs, a ròving secret band of professional assasins, who way-laid the travellers and robbed and strangled them. But the greatest service of the Governor-General to the country was the appointment of Indians to responsible judicial and executive offices. The settlement of the North-west Province was begun. A legal member was added to the Governor-General's Council, which was empowered to legislate for the whole of India. English became the official language. Education was encouraged. "The people of India look back on the administration of Lord William Bentinck with gratification and pride." His term was marked by social and literary reforms.

A great historical incident during the administration of Bentinck was the renewal of the charter in 1833. The Company's monopoly of the Chinese trade was broken. The charter marks the transformation of a trading concern into a purely administrative body, "performing its duties in trust for His Majesty, his heirs and successors."

Liberty of the Press:—The administration of Metcalfe who acted as Governor-General in the interim was memorable for the abolition of restrictions on the press. Hindustan enjoyed at no time greater tranquility than when Auckland assumed charge in 1836. From that day began a new era of war and conquest which lasted for two decades.

Lord Auckland and the First Afghan War:— Now the Anglo-Indian Government became alive to a new peril. The spectre of the Russian menace had begun to haunt the English statesmen from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The extension of Russian influence in Persia and the Shah's attack upon Herat, the key to all routes leading from Persia to India, determined the policy of the Government. Lord Auckland opened negotiations for an alliance with Dost Muhammad, Amir of Afghanistan, who had displaced Shah Shuja of the house of Ahmad Shah Durani. Dost Muhammad asked Peshawar as price for the guardianship of the gates to India. Auckland executed a treaty with Shah Shuja, the refugee Amir, and Ranjit Singh, and declared war in 1838. The English army marched through the Bolan Pass, and captured Kandahar and Ghazni. Kabul was occupied. Dost Muhammad was removed and Shah Shuja was installed as Amir. The English army remained for two years at the capital. The Afghans who hated the strangers rose in revolt in 1841. The British envoy was killed. The British army though permitted to retreat, was treacherously attacked all along the route and perished almost to a man.

Auckland was superseded by Lord Ellenborough in 1842. An army was sent under Pollock to retrieve the disaster and wreak vengeance. Marching through the Kyber Pass, Pollock relieved Jalalabad and reached Kabul. Meanwhile Shah Shuja had been murdered and the British army returned leaving Dost Muhammad ruler of Kabul.

Conquest of Sindh:—Lord Ellenborough now turned his attention to Sindh which he had resolved to annex. The Amirs of Sindh had not broken their faith with the English during the Afghan war. But owing to the bullying policy pursued by the British Government they began to show signs of disaffection. A pretext for declaring war was found in the attack of the Baluchis on the residence of Col. Outram. Sir Charles Napier won the battle of Miani (1843) and Sindh was annexed.

War with Scindia: —Another fierce conflict arose during the brief but stormy period of Lord Ellenborough's time. Disorder prevailed in Gwalior. The British Government interfered and defeated the formidable army at Maharajpur and Punniar. The State lay at the disposal of the Governor-General, who, however, contented himself with reducing the dangerous Gwalior army.

Lord Hardinge and the First Sikh War:—In their origin the Sikhs were a religious community founded early in the seventeenth century by the reformer Nanak. "For a long time the Sikhs were a religious fraternity, but the unwise persecution of Muhammadan rulers turned them into a martial race." At the beginning of the nineteenth century Ranjit Singh, a powerful chief united the Sikhs under him. Anxious to keep on friendly terms with the English, he entered into a treaty with the British, accepting the Sutlej as the boundary between his kingdom and the British territory. While keeping faith with the English, he extended his kingdom in other directions by the conquest of Kashmir, Multan and Peshawar. When his

powerful personality was removed in 1839, the kingdom was thrown into anarchy. "Created by the military and administrative genius of one man it crumbled into powder when the spirit which gave it life was withdrawn." The splendid army raised by him became restive and invaded British territory beyond the Sutlej.

The Sikhs threw down the gauntlet and the Governor General picked it up. Sir Hugh Gough defeated the Sikh Khalsa at Mudki. Ferozeshah was successfully stormed. The Sikhs sustained two more successive defeats at Aliwal and Sobraon. The British army crossed the Sutlej and occupied Lahore. The Treaty of Lahore brought the First Sikh War to a close. Dulip Singh was recognised as ruler. Sir Henry Lawrence as president of a Council of Regency was to exercise all authority in the name of the young Maharajah during his minority. The districts between the Sutlej and the Bias were annexed. Kashmir and Hazara were separated from the Punjab of which the former was placed under Gulab Singh while the latter was kept by the English. Further the Sikh army was considerably cut down.

Lord Dalhousie:—1848-1856:—The Second Sikh War.—The Sikhs were defeated, but their power was not completely broken. Lord Dalhousie had, immediately after his arrival, to deal with the Sikh problem. In 1848 two British officers were murdered at Multan. The dis-affection of Mulraj, Governor of Multan, was the signal for the turbulent Sikh troops to raise the standard of revolt. Multan was invested and before it capitulated in

1849, the battle of Chilianwala was fought with the Sikh Khalsa. It was a severe defeat for the British army. The disaster of Chilianwala was retrieved by the English victory at Gujarat. The Sikh power was now broken. Peshawar was occupied. Dalhousie annexed the Punjab. "Among the trophies that fell into the hands of the English during the Sikh War was the celebrated gem, the Koh-i-Nur diamond."

Second Burmese War:—In the East the British Empire was extended at the expense of the Burmese king, whose attitude towards British merchants led to hostilities. Martaban was taken. Rangoon was stormed. Prome and Pegu were occupied. The result of the war was the annexation of the conquered territories in the lower valley of the Irawadi. Thus the Burmese kingdom was left without a seaboard.

Sikkim:—A third accession of foreign territory was a portion of Sikkim in 1850 as a punishment for the disaffection of the Rajah.

Annexations:—The doctrine of laspe, by which, on the death of a native ruler without a legal heir, his kingdom lapsed to the paramount power supplied a pretext for Dalhousie to effect several annexations. Thus were absorbed the kingdoms of Satara, Jhansi and Nagpur, Berar, which the Nizam had received as his share in the spoils of the Second Maratha War, was annexed in 1852 for the maintenance of a contingent force at Hyderabad. The last of Dalhousie's annexations was Oudh; the weighty argument for its incorporation being intolerable misgovernment.

Internal Reconstruction :— The territories Lord Dalhousie conquered or annexed, were firmly knit together. New roads and new canals were opened. Large sums were spent on public works. Irrigation received special attention. Railways and telegraphs were introduced. The cheap and uniform half-penny post which Dalhousie introduced would alone suffice to place him in the list of benefactors of India. Every effort was made to encourage trade. The education dispatch of Sir Charles Wood founded a system of education on western basis which has done much to promote the unification of races. The result of Dalhousie's wise measures is a united India.

Renewal of Charter 1853:—In 1853 the charter was renewed for the last time. The civil service was thrown open to Indians. A separate provincial government was constituted for Bengal and the Governor-General of India was dissociated from the governorship of that province.

Conclusion:—Lord Dalhousie relinquished his office in 1856 and was succeeded by Lord Canning. The British Empire appeared now to have attained its acme of power and prosperity. Great Britain held sway over the whole of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comerin. Her dominion extended beyond the Indus on the north-west and the Irawady on the south-east; and over this vast area, peace seemed to reign and law and order appeared to rule.

CHAPTER VII.

India under the Crown.

"Roughly speaking, of the years from the close of 1858 when the government of British India was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown, to the commencement of 1900, half were occupied in preparing, in plotting out, and in making a vigorous commencement in the execution of the great projects for the moral and material development of India, of which the latter half saw the application and extension."

Historians' History of the World.

Lord Canning and the Great Indian Mutiny

The process of consolidation begun by Lord Dalhousie was arrested by the mutiny which broke out in 1857. His policy created unrest. The Indian princes looked on with alarm at the series of annexations. The activities of Christian missionaries combined with vague apprehensions of western institutions and civilization gave the people no cause to be friendly with the Company's rule. The introduction of the Enfield rifle which required the use of greased cartridges, abominable to Caste Hindus and Muhammadans confirmed their worst suspicions and fanned the flame of discontent. The occasion was availed of by a few discontented men to stir up the sepoys and in the distractions of the Crimean,

Persian and Chinese wars, they found their opportunity to strike.

The sepoys struck the first blow. The Europeans in the town of Meerut were killed. They next marched on Delhi. This was the beginning of the mutiny. The city was occupied and the aged Bahadur Shah was proclaimed emperor. The mutineers were joined by the disorderly elements of the city. No European was spared. The disaffection in Oudh centred round Lucknow. Jhansi and Cawnpore were other scenes of the same drama. Everywhere the jails were thrown open, treasuries were looted and European officers and residents were shot dead Nana Sahib, son of Baji Rao I was the leader of the Cawnpore rebels.

In this hour of supreme danger to the paramount power, the Nizam, Scindia, Holkar and the chieftains of Rajputana remained loyal. Even the recently annexed Punjab was quiet. At Lucknow the English garrison under Havelock and Outram made a heroic defence against swarms of mutineers until the arrival of reinforcements under Sir Colin Campbell. The tide turned and the rebels were hunted to the frontiers. Meanwhile, Delhi had fallen. The recovery of Delhi must be ascribed to the untiring energy of John Lawrence. Nana Sahib's success at Cawnpore was short-lived. He was defeated and Cawnpore was occupied by British troops. The mutiny at Bareilly in Rohilkand was suppressed in 1858.

Sir Hugh Rose was in command of the operations in Central India. Jhansi was stormed and taken. Tantia

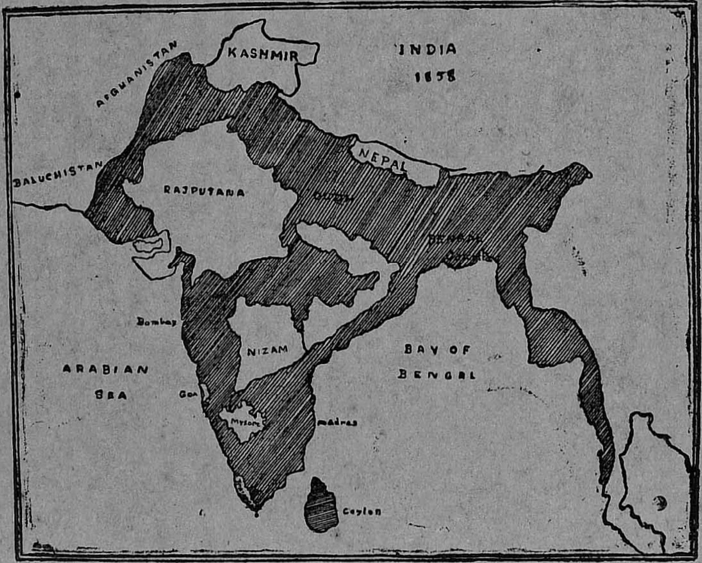
Topi, the leader of the rebels, was defeated at Kalpi. Leaving Indore, he retreated to Gwalior. Rose gave chase to the enemy and captured Gwalior. Tantia Topi was captured and hanged. The mutiny was suppressed.

"The ultimate explanation of the mutiny and partial rebellion of the people, expressed in general terms without regard to specific grievances, is that the movement was a revolt of the old against the new, of Indian conservatism against aggressive European innovation." The greatest result of the mutiny was the transfer of administration from the Company to the Crown in 1858 by an Act of Parliament. The Secretary of State for India, acting for the Crown and assisted by a Council, conducts and controls the Indian administration. In India, the supreme executive authority is vested in the Viceroy and Governor-General. The Queen's proclamation of first November 1858, set forth the principles of administration.

Canning's regime is memorable for the foundation of the universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The greatest effect of this wise measure is a united and enlightened India. It has also provided a meeting ground for East and West. The Rent Act of 1857 gave security of tenure to the Bengal peasantry. Canning's term was also marked by the adoption of the Indian Penal Code and Codes of Criminal and Civil Procedure. Almost every Viceroy from Canning has had to reckon with the regular recurrence of famine in several localities.

Canning's successors in office :—The war with Bhutan which led to the annexation of the Dewars

INDIA IN 1858



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is almost the only incident we have to record under the Viceroyalty of Sir John Lawrence. Nothing else of event occurred in the history of British dominion in India during the administration of Canning's immediate successors. But attention had always been fixed on the north-west frontier. It was under Lord Lytton that the Queen assumed the title and dignity of Empress of India. Another event of his time, which broke the serene tranquillity of the quarter of a century immediately following the mutiny, was the out-break of the Second Afghan war.

Second Afghan War:—For a long time after the first conflict, the Indian Government abstained from interfering in Afghan politics. The period coincided with the advance of Russia. The movements of that country naturally roused British suspicion. The hostile attitude of the Amir of Afghanistan led to the occupation of Quetta by the British in 1876. Quetta occupies a strategic position on the highway between Kandahar and India. The Khan of Khelat submitted to British control. In 1878 war was forced upon the Indian Government, by the Amir, who, while receiving a Russian mission declined to give audience to a British envoy. Three British armies marched in three different directions to Kabul. Sher Ali the Amir fled and died soon after. His son Yakub was put upon the throne. The Treaty of Gandamuk gave the control of foreign affairs of Afghanistan to the Indian Government and delivered the passes to the keeping of the British. A British Resident was posted at Kabul. A few days later came the massacre of the

Resident and his escort. Kabul was promptly re-occupied. At this stage, Lord Lytton resigned and was succeeded by Lord Ripon. A British contingent was defeated by the Afghans at Maiwand. General Roberts marched from Kabul to Kandahar and inflicted a defeat on the Afghan army. Abdur Rahman a nephew of Sher Ali was installed as Amir and the British forces evacuated Kabul and Kandahar.

Lord Ripon :—With the advent of Lord Ripon, we enter upon a period of peace and moral progress. "Remission of taxation, encouragement of primary and secondary education, the promotion of local self-government, the amelioration of the status of the agricultural tenant, the recognition and promotion of native claims to a share in directing the internal affairs of India these were the cardinal—points of the policy of 1880 and the years immediately ensuing." Lord Ripon is among those few Viceroys whose name evokes respect and gratitude, His scheme of local self-government handed over to the people the management of the affairs of Municipalities and District Boards,

Lord Dufferin and the Third Burmese War :—The period of Lord Dufferin's government witnessed the annexation of Upper Burma. The hostile attitude of King Theebaw led to the occupation of Mandalay. There was no action. The King was deposed and Upper Burma was added to the Indian Empire. " The easy conquest of Upper Burma completed the tale of annexations on a considerable scale open to a Governor-

General of India." Dufferin's Viceroyalty was marked by a gracious act. The famous fort of Gwalior, "the pearl in the necklace of the castles of Hind," was restored to Scindia in 1886. In the following year the Golden Jubilee of Victoria's reign was celebrated all over India with great pomp. The occasion was marked by the profound loyalty of Her Majesty's subjects.

Lords Landsdowne and Elgin :—Under Lord Landsdowne, the defence of the N. W. frontier was organised. Hunza and Nagar were occupied and Manipur was annexed. Frontier troubles did not however end here. The disturbances in Chitral compelled Lord Elgin to interfere. The little State was occupied and annexed. The Viceroy had yet another trouble in store. In 1897 the year of the Diamond Jubilee of the Queen, the tribes in the N. W. frontier rose in revolt. It was not without a deadly conflict that the rising was suppressed.

Lord Curzon 1899-1905 :—The choice of the next Viceroy fell on Lord Curzon. The Afghan affairs continued to engage the attention of the Indian Government. Abdur Rahman died in 1901. He was succeeded by his son Habibullah. Cordial relations were soon established with the new Amir. The attempts of Turkey, France, Russia and Germany to secure a footing on the shores of the Persian Gulf were frustrated. Lord Curzon's frontier policy was highly successful. But his policy towards Tibet involved the Government in a fruitless war. To punish the Grand Lama of Tibet, for

his hostile attitude towards the British Government, an expedition was organised. Lhasa was occupied. At this stage differences between the Home and Viceregal Governments led to a treaty with Tibet by which a small indemnity was accepted. Commercial relations between India and China were restored. The Tibetan problem was finally settled only by Lord Morley during the next regime.

"Internally Lord Curzon's period of office was made specially notable for a drastic overhauling of the whole machinery of administration." The North West Frontier Province was created and placed under a Chief Commissioner directly responsible to Simla. The Viceroy's Council was enlarged by the addition of a sixth member in charge of the department of Commerce and Industry. Lord Curzon's educational and land revenue policies were subjects of adverse criticism. The partition of Bengal (1905) roused popular indignation and the Indian Government was forced to yield to public opinion. The Act was reversed by His Majesty, the King-Emperor at the time of the Coronation Durbar, (1911). The controversy between Lord Curzon and the Commander-in-Chief led to Lord Curzon's resignation.

The Minto Morley Reforms.—The Viceroyalty of Lord Minto marks an epoch in the history of constitutional progress in India. The Indian Councils Act of 1909 was a distinct step towards representative government. The Viceregal and the Provincial, Executive and Legislative Councils were enlarged. The appointment for the

first time of Indians to the Imperial and the Provincial Executive Councils and to the Council of India, deserves special mention as admitting Indians to a share in the administration. The interests of communities and minorities were safeguarded by special representation.

The Delhi Durbar:—In the recent history of India no event is so fresh as the imposing ceremony of the coronation of Their Majesties at Delhi during the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge. The occasion was made memorable by two great announcements; the one annulling the partition of Bengal; and the other, transferring the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi. The two Bengals were once more united under a Governor. Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur were constituted into a separate province under a Lieutenant-Governor, and Assam was assigned to a Chief Commissioner.

What has won for Lord Hardinge the esteem and lasting gratitude of the Indian population was his active sympathy with Indians in South Africa in their struggle to assert their rights against a Government determined upon excluding Asiatics. A commission was appointed and "an Act was passed which though it did not entirely satisfy Indian aspirations was pronounced by Mr. Gandhi to be a Magna Carta of Indian liberty in South Africa." The vexed question of Indian migration is still unsettled and the whites are unrelenting in their attitude towards Asiatics as is evidenced by the Asiatic Bill on the anvil of the South African Parliament.

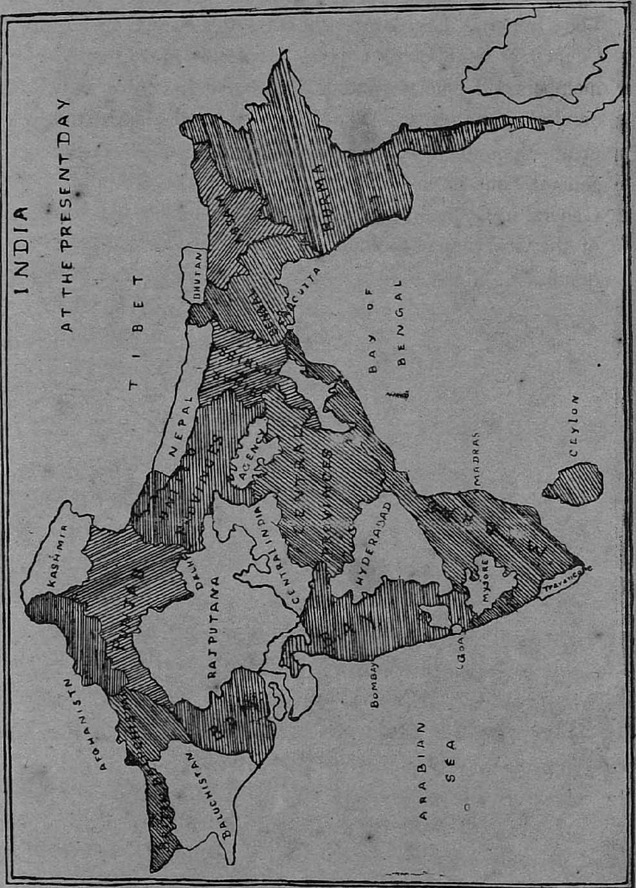
The Great War;—India was not behind the

Dominions or slow to stand by the Empire. Indian soldiers fought side by side with those of the self-governing Dominions and won laurels for themselves in France, Flanders, Macedonia, Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia.

The Third Afghan War, 1919: War was forced upon the Indian Government by the war party in Afghanistan. That country had remained neutral during the Great war, the termination of which was closely followed by the murder of the Amir in February 1919. Amanulla ascended the throne. The occasion coincided with unrest in India which the Afghans sought to exploit and press their claims for complete independence. The influence of the war party prevailed and war broke out. The contest did not last long. The Afghan army was defeated and a treaty was concluded in 1921 by which Afghanistan was guaranteed internal and external independence and friendly relations were restored. Soon after, when the hostilities of the frontier tribes became manifest, Central Waziristan was permanently occupied.

Montague-Chelmsford Reforms:—The Great War brought to the forefront the question of constitutional reform in India. In 1917 Montague, then Secretary of State for India made his famous announcement showing a change of heart. The late Mr. Montague conferred with Lord Chelmsford who had succeeded Lord Hardinge and their Joint Report was submitted to Parliament for adoption. The Act of 1919 introduced Diarchy in the Provinces. It enlarged the electorate and the Provincial and Imperial Legislative Councils.

INDIA IN 1924.



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The Imperial Legislature consists of two Houses, a Council of State with a large proportion of nominated members and officials and a Legislative Assembly with an elected majority. "The future of India lies in the greatest possible decentralization in India, subject to the general, but unmeddlesome control of the Governor-General in Council, and in the greatest possible freedom of the Government of India from all interference from home..."

CHAPTER VIII.

Recapitulation.

"It is to the extra-ordinary combinatipn of circumstances which gave British India the united advantage of democratic vigour in the classes from which its defenders were taken, with the aristocratic perseverence in the senate by which its government was directed, and the unity of despotism in the dictator to whom the immediate execution of the mandates of that senate was entrusted, that the extra-ordinaty growth of the British Empire in India during the century between Plassey and the Mutiny is beyond all question to be ascribed."

Historians History of the World.

Early years:—Flag follows trade. The English came to India as traders. Their first rivals in commerce were the Portuguese. Later they came into conflict with the Dutch in the Spice Islands and turned their attention to India. Soon, with the permission of the Great Mughal they began to trade with the most important towns of the empire. As time went on, they felt the necessity of acquiring lands and fortifying their stations. Thus Madras and Calcutta came to be purchased. Bombay was got for an annual rental of ten pounds from Charles II, king of England.

At this stage the rivalry with the French gave a sharp turn to the policy of the English.— They learnt

their first lessons in empire-building in the East from their rivals and defeated them with their own weapons.

The disputed succession in the Carnatic in which the French and the English took opposite sides brought out the genius of Clive. Arcot was captured and the English candidate was installed as Nawab. It was the first bid of the Company for territorial power. The French were still supreme in Hyderabad. Henceforth the overthrow of French military power in the East became the ruling object of the English in India.

Rise of the British Power:—The outbreak of the Seven Years' War provided an opportunity not only to destroy the French power but also to lay the foundations of the British Empire in India. Clive's victory at Plassey made the East India Company sovereign in Bengal. The occupation of the Northern Circars by Col. Forde secured that territory to the English. The French power was broken. "Beginning as a struggle for existence against the ambitions of Dupleix, the conflict had ended within ten years in the conversion of a London trading company into the paramount power in two of the richest and mostly densely peopled regions of India."

The Diwani:—Events moved quickly in Bengal. Mir Jafar whom the English had placed on the throne was found incompetent and deposed. Mir Kassim, his successor, quarrelled with the English and sought refuge in Oudh. The battle of Buxar, in which both the Emperor and the Nawab of Oudh took part was a victory or the English and completed the work of Plassey. The

Treaty of Allahabad concluded with the captive Emperor gave the Company formal title to the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

Expansion:—Under Warren Hastings the Company's administration was organised and the government of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was placed under a Governor-General and Council. The Third Mysore War during the time of Lord Cornwallis added Dindigal, Salem and Malabar. The advent of the Marquis of Wellesley opened a new era of expansion. He inaugurated a forward policy by the Subsidiary System. Though that system involved the Company in wasteful wars, and taxed the resources of what was then mainly a trading concern, it resulted ultimately in the addition of considerable tracts to the British dominion in India. Besides it dealt a heavy blow to French influence in Native States. The Mysore and the Maratha wars ended in breaking up the power of the two chief opponents who watched with jealousy the advancement of British interests. The conquest of Mysore, the subsidiary alliances and annexations extended the frontiers of Bengal and completed the Madras Presidency, the foundations of which had been laid by Clive.

Consolidation:—The withdrawal of the Marquis of Wellesley was immediately followed by a short period of reaction during which a policy of masterly inactivity governed the acts of the Court of Directors and their servants in India. But the next ten years that followed witnessed the resumption and continuance of the work

begun by Wellesley. The Marquis of Hastings set for himself the task of completely breaking up the Maratha power, of suppressing the banditti Pindaris and reducing the Gurkhas. The results of his campaigns were the formation of the Bombay Presidency and the foundation of lasting peace throughout the country. His term was marked by progress in other directions as well. Education was encouraged and the tone of civil administration improved. The removal of restrictions on the press ushered into existence a series of newspapers.

War was forced upon Lord Ahmerst by the Burmese king, which resulted in the annexation of Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim. The twelve years following the appointment of Lord William Bentinck were years of peace, marked by progress in important directions. The interest of the rule lies in the abolition of Sati, the suppression of the Thugs, the reduction of expenditure, the land revenue settlement of the North-West Provinces and above all in the introduction of Indian element in the civil and judicial services. The Russian menace necessitated British interference in Afghan politics. The First Afghan War which broke the serene tranquillity of Bentinck's term was a legacy which Lord Auckland left to Lord Ellenborough, his successor. That war led to the annexation of Sind in 1843. Lord Hardinge had to fight the First Sikh War which led to the annexation of the Punjab under Dalhousie. The termination of the Second Burmese War added Lower Burma to British territories. The application of the 'Doctrine of Lapse' brought

Satara, Nagpur and Oudh under British rule. Dalhousie left the empire pretty much what it is. Except the later incorporation of Upper Burma after the Burmese war of 1884, there has been little addition to British dominion. Dalhousie also knit together the different provinces by a system of railways and telegraphs.

The Great Indian Mutiny and the consequent transfer of administration from the Company to the Crown were the fruits of Lord Dalhousie's policy which created distrust. After twenty years of peace the frontier question was taken up by Lord Mayo and reopened by Lord Lytton. The second Afghan war was ended by a treaty in 1880 which secured British interest in Afghanistan. The organisation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901 under Lord Curzon was thought would close the chapter of the frontier problem. But it cropped up once again under the Viceroyalty of Lord Chelmsford.

The proclamation 1858 heralded an era of consolidation by laws and administrative reforms. The period was marked by the creation of a central Legislature presided over by the Viceroy, with subordinate councils at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, the institution of a High Court of Judicature in each of the provincial capitals, the codification of the penal laws and procedure, the introduction of local self-government, the development of natural resources and the advancement of material prosperity consequent upon the increase of trade, the extension of railways and the enjoyment of prolonged peace. With

the spread of education came the natural cry on the part of Indians for increased participation in the administration and their aspirations were met half-way by the Act of 1909 and the Montague—Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 which introduced Diarchy in the provinces.

CHAPTER IX.

The Government of India.

"If ever India is removed from the category of dependencies into the category of dominions, the constitutional pattern of the new State must be federation in which hereditary monarchies and principalities are included as constituted parts." Mr. H. A. L. Fisher.

The Secretary of State and his Council:—The administration of India is divided between the Home Authorities and the Central Government in India. At the head of the Home Government is the Crown acting through the Secretary of State for India, who is a Cabinet Minister responsible to Parliament for all his acts. He holds office so long as his party remains in power. He appoints and presides over a council called the Council of India, which consists of not more than fourteen members, nine of whom must satisfy the qualification of service or residence in India for a period of ten years. The members of the Council do not change with the Secretary, but hold office for seven years and are not eligible for seats in Parliament. The Secretary and his Council are paid from the Indian revenues.

The Council meets every week. The expenditure of the Indian revenues must be sanctioned by the Secretary of State and a majority of his Council. Every piece of business relating to the Government of India is transacted

in the United Kingdom by the Secretary and his Council. All orders and despatches to India are placed before it. But in matters secret or diplomatic, as in the dealings with Native States or foreign powers, the Secretary of State acts alone on his own authority.

The Viceroy and his Council :—The supreme Executive authority in India is vested in a Governor-General and Viceroy who represents and is appointed by the Crown for a period of five years. He is assisted by an Executive Council consisting of seven ordinary members three of whom are Indians with the Commander-in-Chief as the seventh or extraordinary member. The work of administration is divided into nine heads. The Viceroy takes charge of the foreign department. The military department is under the Commander-in-Chief. Each of the seven ordinary members is responsible for one of the following portfolios: Viz, Home, Finance, Legislature, Revenue, Agriculture and Public Works, Commerce, Industry and Education. The business in each department is transacted by its head with the aid of a Secretary and a large clerical establishment. The Executive is however not responsible to the Legislature but is directly under the superintendence, direction and control of the Secretary of State.

The Foreign Department has care of matters relating to States outside British India and controls the administration of the N. W. Frontier Province, British Baluchistan and Ajmer Merwara. The Commander-in-Chief administers the Army and the Navy Department. The Home Department has charge of the general administra-

The Legislature:—The Legislature consists of two Houses, the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. The former is a popular body composed of 140 members of whom 100 are elected 26 are officials and 14 nominated non-official members. "The proposals of the Governor-General in Council for appropriation of revenues of money relating to heads of expenditure are submitted to the votes of the Assembly in the form of demands for grants." Any grant refused by the Assembly can be restored if the Governor-General certifies that it is essential to the discharge of his responsibilities The Council of State is a revising Chamber. Its maximum strength has been fixed at sixty, of which thirty-four are elected members, six nominated officials and twenty non-official nominated members. The Legislature makes civil and criminal laws. Motions for adjournment of the ordinary business of the House are moved to draw the attention of the Government to a public matter of prime importance. All laws

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tion of British India in law, justice, jails, police, archaeology etc. The Revenue Member deals with all matters relating to land revenue including famine relief, surveys, forests, meteorology, roads, public buildings and canals. All matters relating to money, mints banks, State treasuries, the pay, pension and leave of Public servants, stamps and currency, opium and salt, are brought under the Finance Department. The control of trade and the administration of railways, post and telegraphs, ports, shipping customs statistics, emigration and the geological survey are vested in the Member for Commerce. The Department of Industries deals with munitions, industries stores and factories. The Legislative Department frames and drafts all laws and regulations for the consideration of the Legislative Councils. The shaping of Government policy with regard to education is in the hands of the Education Member.

passed by the Assembly must pass through the Council of State before it is submitted for approval to the Viceroy who has the power of veto. He also exercises sometimes the power to certify measures rejected by the Councils. In some urgent cases he has also power to make temporary ordinances.

Provincial Governments :—In their main outline the Provincial Governments reproduce the leading features of the Central government. The Presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Bengal are under Governors chosen by the Crown, for a term of five years, from the public life of England. The other six Provinces are presided over by Governors recruited directly from the civil service and appointed for five years by the Crown. All the Provinces are subject to the superintendence, direction and control of the Government of India.

The subjects of administration in the provinces are divided into 'Transferred' and 'Reserved', of which the former are administered by Indian Ministers, chosen by the Governor from the elected members of the local Legislature. Local self-government, Education and Development form the "transferred" half. The "reserved" subjects are Finance, Law and Order, Revenue and Civil justice. "In relation to the transferred subjects" the Governor shall be guided by the advice of his Ministers unless he sees sufficient cause to dissent from their opinion, in which case, he may require action to be taken otherwise than in accordance with that advice." The "reserved" half is administered by means of an Executive Council which in the

case of the Presidencies consists of four members, two of whom are non-official Indians. In the case of the other provinces, the Executive Council consists of two members, of whom one is a non-official Indian. The portfolios of Law and Order have been entrusted to an Indian Member of the Executive Council only in the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Madras. In the Province of Bihar and Orissa alone have the portfolios of Finance been held by an Indian Member.

In each province there is a Legislative Council, the strength of which varies from province to province. Bengal heads the list with a number of 139. Madras comes next with 127 members. The United Provinces come third with 123. Bombay has 111, Bihar and Orissa 103, the Punjab 93, the Central Provinces and Berar 60 and Assam 53 members. It is specifically laid down that at least seventy per cent of the members should be elected. Of the rest, not more than twenty per cent may consist of official members.

Powers of the Council :—The Council has some control over expenditure. It votes on 'Demands for Grants' made by the local Government. Any demand relating to a " Reserved subject " refused by the Council can be restored by the Governor in virtue of the power of certification vested in him. The Governor is given power to refuse leave to introduce a Bill by certifying that " the Bill or any part of it affects the safety or tranquillity of his province or any part of it or of another province." Likewise, where the Council refuses to pass in the form recom-

mended by the Governor any Bill relating to a " reserved subject" he may certify " that the passage of the Bill is essential for the discharge of his responsibility for the subject and thereupon the Bill is deemed to have passed." All laws passed by the local Legislature and assented to by the Governor, require the sanction of the Governor-General.

Defects of Diarchy:—The Governor-in-Council of the United Provinces describes Diarchy as " a cumbrous, complex and confused system having no logical basis, rooted in compromise and defensible only as a transitional expedient." The following defects have been pointed out:—(1) the overlapping of the two halves (2) the absence of collective responsibility of the Ministers (3) the absence of any provision for joint deliberation between the two halves of the Government (4) the friction between the Ministers and the services (5) the difficulties in the way of Ministers arising out of the over-ruling powers vested in the Governor by the Act (6) the control of the Government of India and the Secretary of State (7) the measure of check imposed by the Finance Department and the fact that under the rules, the portfolio of Finance is entrusted to a member of the Executive Council who is in charge of the spending department as well.

Each province has a High Court of Judicature from which appeal lies to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The provinces are sub-divided into districts each of which is under a Collector who belongs to the

Civil Service of India, Every district is further subdivided into taluqs under the charge of Tahsildars.

Native States:—Over one-third of the area of India and two-fifths of her inhabitants are administered by Native rulers. The Native States number six hundred and ninety four and vary from great kingdoms like Hyderabad and Mysore to petty tribal chieftainships. They are all vassals of the British Raj. The position of the British Political Agent differs widely in different Native States. The foreign policy of the Native States is entirely in the hands of the Imperial Government. In internal affairs some of the Native Princes enjoy freedom of action.

"India has been claimed by Lord Curzon as the political and imperial centre of the British Empire; there lies the true fulcrum of dominion, the real touchstone of our imperial greatness or failure and India once lost, our sun would sink to its setting."

BOOK IX.

Miscellaneous.

CHAPTER I.

Other British Possessions.

"The Islanders ran to islands, to coast lines, to peninsulas. They did not overrun continents after the manner of the Spaniards. The English realised that 'islands are easily shut, whereas continents have their doors ever open, not to be bolted without great charges.' The continental possessions of England are a late development, the result of expansion rather than of conquest." Charles Lucas.

In the foregoing chapters we have traced the history of the self-governing Dominions and sketched the growth of British dominion in India. A succinct account of the other British possessions must now be given. These possessions naturally arrange themselves into six groups: European, American, Australian, African and Asiatic.

European:—1. The Channel Islands:—The Channel Islands lying off the north-west coast of France are the only remnants of the old Dutchy of Normandy retained by the English Crown. The islands enjoy a mild climate and are virtually self-governing, the King-Emperor being represented by Lieutenant-Governors.

2. **The Isle of Man**:—The Isle of Man, situated in the Irish Sea was purchased by the Crown in 1827 for a sum of £ 417,144. It is administered by a Governor assisted by a Legislature consisting of two Houses.

3. **Gibraltar**:—Gibraltar guards the entrance to the Mediterranean and occupies a position of unique importance. It was captured during the War of the Spanish Succession in 1704 and recognised as a British possession by the Treaty of Utrecht. Two unsuccessful attempts were made in 1729 and 1779 by the French and the Spaniards to recapture it. The town is excellently fortified and is a free-port, a cable-station and a naval base. It is a Crown Colony administered by a military Governor aided by an Executive Council of seven members.

4. **Malta**:—Malta is a half-way house between Gibraltar and Port Said. Its geographical situation gives it great value as the headquarters of the Mediterranean Fleet and residence of the Commander-in-Chief of the British troops in the Mediterranean. It was taken during the Nepoleonic War in 1800, and at the Peace of 1815 it became a British possession. "From time immemorial, Malta has been the prize of sea-power." It is strongly fortified and is administered as a Crown Colony by a Governor, who is always a distinguished General, assisted by Executive and Legislative Councils.

5. **Cyprus**:—Cyprus, situated at the eastern corner of the Mediterranean had played its role in history. It was ceded by the Sultan of Turkey in 1878 and was formally annexed in 1914. It is administered as a Crown

Colony by a High Commissoner assisted by a Legislative. Council. A British garrison is also stationed in the island.

American:—The American group includes the Bermudas, the West Indies, Honduras, British Guiana and the Falklands.

1. The Bermudas:—The Bermudas are situated on the line of communication between Canada and the West Indies. The Spaniards neglected them as being storm beaten. They were first colonised by the Virginia Company in the seventeenth century and are a Crown Colony administered by a Governor aided by Executive and Legislative Councils. They are an important naval station for the North American Squadron. The climate is mild and the islands are a pleasure resort of the Americans.

2. The West Indies:—The West Indies are a group of islands lying east of Central America, and include Jamaica, the Leeward, the Windward and the Bahama groups. Jamaica, 'the land of wood and water, was conquered by the Spaniards during the time of the Commonwealth in England and was recognised as a British possession by the Treaty of Madrid 1670. It enjoyed representative government until 1866 when it was raised to the status of a Crown Colony. The island is famous for its cigar.

The Leeward Islands:—St. Christopher, commonly known as St. Kitts, was founded in 1623. The progress of the mother-colony was impeded by the Spaniards. Great Britain gained complete possession of the

island by the Treaty of Utrecht. Nevis, settled in 1628, Antigua and Montserrat both founded in 1632 were offshoots of St. Kitts. For a time Nevis did not make any great headway owing to French invasion. Later on, it became the centre of slave trade in the Leeward Islands. Meanwhile, the political situation in the mother-country influenced the growth of the colonies. The success of the Parliamentarians led to the emigration of Royalists in large numbers. The Virgin Islands were acquired by settlement. Of all the islands of the Leeward group, Dominica alone was conquered from the French. The Leeward Islands were independent colonies until 1871 when they were constituted into a single federal colony by an Act of Parliament. A Federal Legislative Council was created, of which the President is the Governor-in-chief who has his headquarters at Antigua.

The Windward Islands:—Of the Windward Islands belonging to Great Britain Barbados is the most important. It was settled in 1627 and has the constitution of a Crown Colony with a Governor and Executive and Legislative Councils. It is one of the most thickly populated spots in the world and its situation in the Caribbean sea makes it the centre of commerce in the West Indies.

The other islands—Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia Tobago, and Trinidad—were conquered by Britain at various dates. The beautiful island of Grenada (1783) owes its prosperity to the cultivation of cocoa and spices. St. Vincent contains an active volcano from which the island has suffered much. St. Lucia was captured in 1803 and,

like Grenada, is well provided with several good harbours. Tobago was the prize of several conflicts between the French and the British. It figured in the Seven Years' War, in the War of American Independence, and the Nepoleonic War. It was finally ceded to Britain in 1815. In 1889 it was united with Trinidad by an Act of Parliament. Trinidad, the most southerly of the Windward Islands was another prize of war in 1797. All along it has been enjoying the status of a Crown Colony. The Windward group unlike the Leeward is not federated. The islands have each the constitution of a Crown Colony and are grouped together under a Governor-in-chief who has his headquarters at Grenada.

The Bahamas:—The Bahamas, the most northerly of the West Indies became a British possession by settlement. Though the first to be sighted by Columbus, they were neglected by the Spaniards until finally the English founded their first colony in 1646. The islands became a nest of pirates, and were for a time subject to Spanish and French vaids. During the War of American Independence, the French captured them, but they were restored to England by the Peace of 1783. The Bahamas are administered as a Crown Colony by a Governor assisted by an Executive and a Legislative Council.

3. British Honduras:—The Crown Colony of British Honduras is the southern strip of the east coast of Yucatan. It was ceded by treaty in 1798 and has ever since remained a British possession. It has vast tropical

forests, mahogany, logwood and dyewood being the most important trees.

4. British Guiana: –British Guiana is the only British possession in the continent of South America. Originally it belonged to the Dutch. It was in the temporary possession of Great Britain on three different occasions before it was finally ceded to Great Britain by the Peace of Paris in 1815. It is administered by a Governor aided by Executive and Legislative Councils.

5. The Falkland Islands:—The islands were discovered by Davis in the sixteenth century and visited by Hawkins of slave-trade fame. It was the whale fishery that led to the colonisation of the island in 1833. The islands occupy a strategic position on the route from Australia to Europe. The opening of the Panama Canal has however reduced the number of vessels calling at the islands. They are a Crown Colony under a Governor assisted by nominated Executive and Legislative Councils.

South Georgia, eight hundred miles east, is a dependency of the Falklands. Of the other dependencies of the Colony, mention must be made of the South Shetlands, Graham's Land, the Sandwich group and the South Orkneys, These islands are ice-bound, but their value consists in their being whaling grounds. In the Antarctic, Marion, Prince Edward Island the Crozet Islands, the Royal Company and the Macquarie Islands are, though uninhabited, nominally under the British flag. They stand on the route from Cape Colony to New Zealand.

Australian; 1. British New Guinea :—New

Guinea, the second largest island in the world, was first discovered in 1511. The eastern portion of the island was proclaimed a British protectorate in 1884 and annexed in 1888. The territory is governed as a Crown Colony by a Lieutenant-Governor aided by an Executive and a Legislative Council.

2. **Fiji**:—The Fiji Islands are a group of more than two hundred islands in the Pacific, one thousand seven hundred miles east of Australia. They were sighted by Tasman and visited by Cook but they came to be settled only in the seventies of the nineteenth century. In 1874 they passed under British protection and eventually became a Crown Colony under a Governor who is assisted by an Executive and a Legislative Council. The islands are visited by steamers running to New Zealand and Australia and are linked by cable with Australia and Canada.

3. **Islands of the Pacific**:—The Solomon Islands came under British protection in 1893. Besides, Great Britain has numerous islands in the Pacific, of which the New Hebrides, under the joint control of the French and the British, the Santa Cruz and the Gilbert groups, the Norfolk and Ellice Islands, the Fanning and the Tonga Islands, the Phoenix Islands and Pitcairn are the most important.

African:—1. **Egypt**:—The Suez Canal:—Egypt, the land of the Pharaohs, of Ptolemies, Cleopatra, and the Mamelukes, is the gift of the Nile. Strange to say the country has invariably played a passive role. Instead of

being aggressive, she has been an object, much coveted by nations, either on account of her extraordinary productiveness or geographical position on the high road from Europe to the East. Britain acquired an interest in the land as guarding the route to India and it increased with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 through the joint efforts of the French and the Khedive. When hard pressed for money, Ismail was obliged to sell his shares in 1875 to the British Prime Minister Disraeli. This secured for Great Britain not only an important voice in the management of the Canal, but also an exceptional interest in the good government of Egypt.

The Dual Control:—Soon after Ismail repudiated his debts and Europe was alarmed. An International Debt Commission was appointed whose duty it was to collect so much of the revenue of Egypt as to satisfy the claims of interest on the debt. Immediately after, France and England, whose subjects had advanced a huge portion of the loan, each appointed a controller to supervise the administration of Egypt, especially of her finance. But Ismail soon began to intrigue against the Dual Control and was consequently deposed in 1879.

Arabi's Revolt :—The Dual Control did not last long. In 1881, occurred a successful mutiny of the soldiers under the leadership of Arabi Pasha. The rising in Alexandria was fatal to many Europeans. To safeguard European interest some effective action had to be taken. But France could not be persuaded to interfere owing to her fear of German aggression. Great Britain

therefore was left to act alone. Alexandria was bombarded by the British Fleet. Lord Wolseley was despatched to Egypt with twenty-five thousand British and seven thousand Indian soldiers. The Suez Canal was secured and Arabi was defeated at Tel-el-Kebir. A small British force was left in Egypt to maintain order. Since France had refused to co-operate with Britain the Dual Control was abolished and Britain became the sole adviser of the Egyptian Government.

BRITISH OCCUPATION:—The Khedive was still the nominal ruler under the sovereignty of Turkey; but real power was exercised by the British Consul-General Lord Cromer who is spoken of as the 'creator of modern Egypt.' Under his regime the Egyptian finance regained its stable equilibrium. The judicial and educational systems were re-organised. The improved system of irrigation brought fresh lands under cultivation and the Assuan Dam completed in 1909 doubled the available supply of water and increased the productiveness as well as the value of lands. During this temporary occupation, Britain undertook important public works of magnitude and her interest became so much bound up with the welfare of this gateway to the East that she was unwilling to relinquish her guardianship of the 'land of paradox. It was formally declared a British Protectorate in 1914. The Khedive was deposed and a new ruler was installed.

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT:—The Protectorate was unpopular and risings were the result. A commission of which Lord Milner was President was appointed to go

into the causes of discontent. The upshot was the termination of the Protectorate in 1922, and the creation in its place of an independent national government. A British High Commissioner resides in Egypt to safeguard British interest.

2. **The Sudan**:—The Sudan was under the Egyptian Government. In 1882 there occurred a rising of the Sudanese under the leadership of the Madhi. The Dervishes carried everything before them. The Sudan had to be reconquered, for which the weak and the bankrupt Egyptian Government was unfit. Great Britain did not want to increase her responsibility. Therefore the evacuation of the Sudan was decided upon and General Gordon was despatched to Khartoum to superintend and carry out the work of evacuation. As soon as Gordon reached the capital he decided otherwise and put Khartoum in a state of defence. The followers of the Madhi invested the capital. Gordon was besieged. He held on for three hundred and seventeen days. A relief expedition under Lord Wolseley arrived too late. Meanwhile the resolute and capable General had fallen and the town had capitulated. The fall of Khartoum necessitated the complete evacuation of the Sudan, the southern boundary of Egypt being fixed at Wady Halfa.

The years following the fall of Khartoum were devoted for the reorganisation of the Egyptian army. In 1896 it was ready to undertake the work of reconquering the Sudan which had fallen into evil days under the Khalifa,

who had succeeded the Madhi. The campaigns were carefully planned in all their details and promptly executed by Lord Kitchener. The work of reconquest occupied three years. In 1893 the Dervish forces were defeated at Omdurman. In the following year the railway from Cairo to Khartoum was opened. The Khalifa fell fighting. The Dervish power was utterly broken and the Sudan was taken under the joint protection of Egypt and Great Britain. It is administered by a Governor-General, who is assisted since 1910 by a nominated Council. A small garrison of British troops is quartered at Khartoum.

8. British East Africa:—The Dark Continent began to engage the attention of the European nations only in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Their interest was roused by the explorations of Livingstone and Stanley. Then followed what may be described as the 'grab' for Africa. In this general scramble for territory in Africa, Great Britain played no minor part. The opening of the Suez Canal increased the importance of the eastern seaboard of Africa, and the British East Africa Company was founded in 1887 to enforce British claim on the *Zanzibar* coast, a claim recognised by the Berlin Conference of 1885. A fresh agreement between Great Britain and Germany brought the coastline between the rivers Umba and Juba, including the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba within the British sphere of influence. At the same time that sphere was extended north and north-west beyond Lake Victoria Nyanza. Explora-

tion followed by missionary and anti-slavery zeal of Britain, coupled with the keen competition among European powers, promoted the rapid expansion of British dominion in East Africa.

The Company was not equal to the task of devoloping the country under their charge. Consequently they sold away their rights to the British Government in 1895. In the following year all the British territories in East Africa excepting Uganda and the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba were formed into the East Africa Protectorate. The Arab rebellion of 1895 was quelled, In 1902 the territory between longitude 36° and Lake Victoria Nyanza was brought under the East Africa Protectorate. Three years later the Protectorate was transferred from the authority of the Foreign to that of the Colonial Office. In the following year it was placed under a Governor and nominated Executive and Legislative Councils. Virtually the constitution is that of a Crown Colony.

4. The Uganda Protectorate:—As early as 1877, European civilisation began slowly to filter down to Uganda through missionary activities. The appearance of the French and later of the Germans began to alarm the British East Africa Company. Thirteen years later, the Anglo-German agreement recognised English rights over the territory. In 1894 Uganda was formally declared a protectorate. Its bounds were gradually enlarged until it included the whole territory recognised as British sphere of influence by both France and Germany in 1890;

The completion of the railway from Mombassa to the eastern shore of Lake Victoria Nyanza has in no small measure aided the commercial development of the Protectorate. In 1921 Executive and Legislative Councils were created.

5. Zanzibar:—Zanzibar passed under British protection in accordance with the Anglo-German agreement of 1890. In the following year the government was organised. In 1913 the Protectorate was transferred from the Foreign to the Colonial Office.

6. Somaliland:—British sovereignty over Somaliland dates from 1884. Its boundaries were fixed by an arrangement with Italy a decade later. The Protectorate derives its importance from its geographical position at the entrance to the Read Sea on the side opposite to Aden. It is one link in the chain of dependencies whose acquisition was dictated by the security of unbroken communication with the East.

7. Tanganyika Territory:—Tanganyika, formerly a German possession, was conquered by British and South African forces in 1918. In the following year it came under the effective control of Britain. It is administered by a Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

8. Nyasaland:—Nyasaland was first penetrated by Livingstone, whose explorations gave an impulse to commercial activity as well as missionary enterprise Several mission stations were established. In 1878 the African Lakes Company was formed with the object of pushing British trade. The Berlin Conference of 1890

recognised British claim and interest in Nyasaland. But the jealousy of the Portuguese led to disputes, which were settled by the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1891, which defined the limits of the territory. In the same year, a British protectorate was formally proclaimed over Nyasaland and the district adjoining the Shire river, under the title of British Central Africa Protectrate. The Western portion of this area was transferred to the management of the British South Africa Company founded in 1889. The year 1904 witnessed the transfer of the country from the control of the Foreign to that of the Colonial Office. In 1907 it was re-christened the Nyasaland Protectorate and placed under a Governor and Commander-in-Chief with nominated Executive and Legislative Councils

9. **Rhodesia**:—Rhodesia is so called after Cecil Rhodes, the founder of the British South Africa Company. It extends from Lake Tanganyika and the watershed of the Congo in the north to the Limpopo in the south. The land belonged to the Matabele. The discovery of gold on the Rand in 1887 led to a stream of European immigration. In the following year Matabeleland and Mashonaland were declared within the sphere of British influence. A treaty was entered into with the native chief and the British South Africa Company was formed, with the object of developing the land to the north of the Transvaal and Bechuanaland and west of the Portuguese territory. The first band of European settlers arrived in 1891 and a conflict with the Portuguese follow-

ed. The frontier being fixed by a treaty of 1891, fresh settlers began to pour in. Now it was the turn of the Matabeles. War broke out in 1893, at the conclusion of which Matabeleland passed into the hands of the Company. The administration was organised and the name Rhodesia was adopted in 1895. The entire territory is administered by the Company. An Order-in-Council of 1898 placed the region south of the *Zambezi*, known as Southern Rhodesia, under an administrator assisted by an Executive Council. Representative government was inaugurated in 1903. In 1915 the Directors of the Company pledged themselves to a policy of gradual establishment of responsible government. When called upon in 1922, to decide between responsible government and incorporation in the Union of South Africa, the people of Southern Rhodesia recorded their votes for responsible government.

10. Bechuanaland:—Bechuanaland is bounded on the north by Rhodesia, on the east by the Transvaal, south by Cape Colony and west by South-West Africa It was proclaimed a British protectorate in 1885 and is administered by a Resident Commissioner. The High Commissioner of the South African Union is given power to make laws for the Protectorate.

11. Basutoland:—Basutoland is another inland territory taken under British protection in 1878 according to a treaty with the native chief. Four years later, it was transferred to the Crown. In 1891 the territory was annexed. It is governed by a Resident Commissioner

under the High Commissioner of South Africa, who legislates for it by means of proclamation.

12. Swaziland:—The territory adjoining the Transvaal was brought under the administration of the South African Republic by the Convention of 1894. In 1903 Swaziland was transferred to the control of the Crown. It is administered as a protectorate. The native chiefs administer civil law according to the native code subject to a final appeal to the Resident Commissioner.

British West Africa: 13. Gambia:— The West African possessions of Great Britain have their origin in slave trade. Gambia takes its name from the river of the same name. The Portuguese were the first to explore the region. In 1588 Elizabeth, being at war with Spain, granted a charter to a company to trade with Gambia. The Company of Adventurers of London trading into Africa was formed in 1618. The first attempts were unsuccessful. In 1664 Fort James was built. The Portuguese and the French were serious rivals of the English and it was not until 1783, that Gambia was definitely recognised as belonging to Britain. It was placed under the Government of Sierra Leone in 1807. Nine years later, came the foundation of Bathurst for liberated slaves. Eventually it was created a separate colony in 1888. The constitution is that of a Crown Colony with a Governor aided by an Executive and a Legislative Council.

14. Sierra Leone:—The Portuguese were the fore-runners of the English in Sierra Leone as in several

other places. In the seventeenth century an English trading station was founded on Bunce Island. Early in the eighteenth century it was taken by the French. In 1787 an unsuccessful attempt was made by Wilberforce to found a settlement named Freetown. Four years later the Sierra Leone Company took possession of the site. The French menace compelled the Company to sell it to the Government. The Crown resumed control in 1808. The frontiers of the colony were gradually extended until the expansion of the settlement was arrested by the French. An Agreement of 1895 fixed the boundary between the English and French territory. A protectorate was proclaimed over the hinterland in 1896. But in 1904 as compensation for her rights in Newfoundland, France was given the Los Islands and a portion of Sierra Leone adjoining the Gambia. Sierra Leone is a Crown Colony, governed by a Governor assisted by a nominated Executive and Legislative Council with full power to legislate for the Protectorate.

15. The Gold Coast:—As early as 1471 the Gold Coast was visited by the Portuguese. They built the fort of Elmina, and for a hundred years had the entire control of the trade with the Gold coast. The appearance of the Dutch on the scene changed the aspect of history. The Portuguese were driven from the Gold Coast and their fortress was captured. The importance of the lucrative slave trade led to the foundation of an English station at Cape Coast Castle which was recognised by the treaty of Breda. At about the same time the Danes and the French began

to build stations for themselves. Meanwhile the Royal Africa Company were busy building forts. Eventually in 1821 they transferred their rights to the Crown. A conflict with the powerful Ashantis occupying the hinterland followed and the English were eventually successful. A treaty was signed in 1831 and Gold Coast was annexed to Sierra Leone. In 1850 the Government purchased the Danish settlements. An arrangement with the Dutch brought all their possessions east of the Sweet River under the English. Finally in 1872 the Dutch evacuated the entire Gold Coast. There followed a period of war with the Ashantis, the conclusion of which saw the formation of the Gold Coast Colony. The Colony is administered by a Governor assisted by nominated Executive and Legislative Councils. Gold is mined in large quantities. Diamond was discovered in 1921. The principal export of the Colony is cocoa.

16. Ashanti :—Ashanti was taken under British protection in 1896. The territory was definitely annexed in 1901 under Orders in Council. The Governor of the Gold Coast is Governor of Ashanti, though the laws of the two provinces are distinct. Ashanti produces gold. Cocoa and rubber are cultivated.

17. Northern Territories:—In the same year in which Ashanti was annexed, the Northern Territories lying between the French possessions and Togoland were brought under British protection and placed under a Chief Commissioner subordinate to the Governor of the Gold Coast.

18. Lagos:—Lagos derives its prominence from the slave trade to which it owes its development as an English colony. England in her warfare against slave trade captured it in 1881 and put it under a native ruler. The arrangement did not work well and it was finally annexed in 1861. At first an independent colony, it was added to Sierra Leone in 1856, to the Gold Coast in 1886, and finally to Nigeria.

19. Togoland:—The capture of Togoland was the joint work of the French and British forces, during the Great War. It was placed under the joint Franco-British administration by the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers. Subsequently it was divided into British and French spheres, The British Sphere is under the Government of the Gold Coast.

20. Nigeria:—The Protectorate of Nigeria is divided into two principal divisions—the Northern and the Southern Provinces. The names—Joseph Banks, Mungo Park and Lander—are connected with the exploration of the Niger-Benu basin, while the name of Macgregor Laird is associated with the establishment of trading stations thereon. The National Africa Company was formed in 1879 and in 1885 the Anglo-German agreement fixed the British sphere of influence. The Company obtained a Royal Charter in 1886 under the name of the Royal Niger Company. It is to their credit that, notwithstanding French resistance, they gradually pushed their bounds. In 1900 the administration was transferred from the Company to the Crown and the Protectorates of Northern

and Southern Nigeria were established. The question of boundary was settled in 1906 by the Anglo-French agreement. The same year Lagos was added to the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. Nigeria is administered by a Governor who has his seat at Lagos. Each of the provinces is under a Lieutenant-Governor.

21. Cameroon:—The German Protectorate of Cameroon lying between British Nigeria and French Congo was captured during the Great War. Its administration was entrusted to Britain and France jointly, by the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers in 1918. Two years later, it was divided between the British and the French The British Sphere is administered by the Governor of Nigeria.

22. Ascension:--The island of Ascension discovered on 'Ascension Day' in 1501 by the Portuguese, lay vacant till 1815 when it was taken possession of by England. Until 1922 it was administered by the Board of Admirality, when it was transferred to the Colonial Office. Its importance during war is considerable, offering as it does advantages as a base from which to patrol the trade routes to Africa, Asia and Australia.

23. St. Helena:—First discovered by the Portuguese, St. Helena remained uninhabited till 1645, when it was occupied by the Dutch. Six years later it was taken by the East Indian Company. The Dutch regained it in 1672 only to lose it in the following year. The opening of the Suez Canal has thrown this island into the shade. It remains an important cable station and is administered

by a Governor with the aid of an Executive Council.

24. Tristan Da Cunha:—Tristan Da Cunha called after the Portuguese admiral who sighted it, was first occupied by the English at the time of Emperor Napoleon's captivity in St. Helena. The Nightingale Groupe and the Inaccessible Island lie close to Tristan Da Cunha. Farther away is Gough Island which is nominally British.

Asiatic:— 1. Ceylon:—The Portuguese were the first Europeans to found settlements in Ceylon. They were dispossessed by the Dutch in 1658. During the Revolutionary War Ceylon was taken by the English in 1765 and annexed to the Presidency of Madras. In 1801 it was created a Crown Colony. Ceylon, the chief Crown Colony in the Empire is administered by a Governor with the aid of an Executive and a Legislative Council. It is independent both of the Indian Government and the Secretary of State for India and is directly under the Colonial Office.

2. The Maldives:—The Maldives, four hundred miles away from Ceylon are nominally tributary to Colombo, to which the Sultan sends an annual embassy.

3. Aden, 4, Perim:—Aden occupies a strategic position at the southern entrance to the Red Sea. The discovery of a sea-soute by way of the Cape of Good Hope reduced its importance. With the opening of the Suez Canal, however, Aden has become a trade centre. It was occupied in 1839 by the English. It is a great coaling station and the only fortified point between

Egypt and Bombay. With Perim, a small island at the southern entrance to the Red Sea, occupied in 1856, it forms part of the Bombay Presidency.

5. **The Kuria Muria Islands:**—The Kuria Muria Islands have been in British possession since 1854. Along with Socotra, occupied in 1834, they were proclaimed a British Protectorate in 1886.

6. **Bahreim:**—Bahrein, in the Persian Gulf, the headquarters of pearl fisheries, is a British protectorate under the Government of India,

7. **Mesopotamia:**—Great Britain is a mandatory power in respect of Mesopotamia taken during the Great War. In 1921 Emir Feisal was elected King. Great Britain undertakes by the treaty of 1922 to terminate her mandatory power as soon as Iraq should be admitted to the League of Nations.

8. **Palestine:**—Palestine is under British administration ever since its conquest in 1918.

9. **The Andamans and Nicobars:**—The Andamans, a group of islands in the Bay of Bengal, are used as a convict station for India. The Nicobars, south of the Andamans, were occupied in 1869.

10. **Laccadives:**—The Laccadive Islands, fourteen in number, situated two hundred miles away from the Malabar Coast, form part of the Madras Presidency.

11. **The Malay States:**—The Malay States fall into three groups: 1. the Straits Settlements, 2. the

Federated Malay States, 3. the Non-federated Malay States. The Straits Settlements include the island of Singapore with its dependencies Penang, Malacca, the Cocos Islands, the Christmas Island and Labuan. It was the spice trade that attracted the Portuguese to the peninsula, and Malacca, as commanding the trade between India and China was captured by Albuquerque in 1511. The appearance of the Dutch undermined the Portuguese trade. With the capture of Malacca, the entire spice trade passed into the hands of the Dutch. The East India Company desirous of acquiring a convenient station fixed upon Penang. The island was ceded by the Raja and the British flag was hoisted in 1786. Subsequently the cession was confirmed and extended. The Colony was raised to the status of a Presidency in 1805. Penang was followed by Malacca which was captured in 1807. In 1818, it was handed over to the Dutch only to be ceded by treaty in 1825 Singagore the most important of the Straits Settlements was founded 1819 in accordance with the treaty entered into between the English and the local chief. It was formally ceded by the Sultan of Johore in 1824. Its unique position at the southern entrance to the Chinese waters brought it settlers. Singapore is a free-port and naval station.

In 1867 the Straits Settlements were made a Crown Colony. The outlying Cocos group annexed in 1857 was brought under the control of the Straits Settlements in 1886. The Christmas Island was incorporated with Singapore in 1900. Labuan, the only British Crown

Colony off the coast of Borneo, ceded to Great Britain by Sultan of Brunei in 1846 was also added to the Straits Settlements. The Colony of Straits Settlements is administered by a Governor assisted by an Executive and a Legislative Council.

12. The Federated Malay States:—Civil war in the Malay Peninsula in 1871 and the attack on the British ships by the Seelangor pirates necessitated British intervention. The native rulers were induced to put themselves under the protection of the British in 1874. Six of the nine States agreed to a federation in 1887 and the union under British protection of Perak, Selangor, Negri, Sembilan and Pehang was accomplished in 1895. The administration is controlled by a Chief Secretary to Government. Each of the States has a Resident whose authority is subject to that of the High Commissioner who is the Governor of the Straits Settlements. The Malay Peninsula supplies large quantities of raw materials of which tin and rubber are the most important. The most productive area of the Peninsula is that comprised by the four Federated States.

13. The Non-Federated Malay States:—The States of Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu stand outside the federation. The treaty of 1885 amended by the agreement of 1914 defines the relation between Great Britain and the independent State of Johore. The Sultan is advised by a British officer who is known by the name of General Adviser. The other States were brought under British protection by the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1909.

14. British Borneo:—The island of Borneo came to be occupied by the Dutch and the British only in the nineteenth century, though they were both on the run to secure a footing in the island in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Sarawak was founded in 1841 by James Brooke, who received it from the Sultan of Borneo in return for aid to suppress a rebellion. In 1843 the Sultan ceded the island of Labuan. The State of Brunei became a British protectorate in 1888, and in 1906 the Sultan accepted a British Resident to advise him in all matters of administration. North Borneo is administered by the British North Borneo Company. The Government of Sarawak is an absolute monarchy with an administrative Council. Labuan is a Crown Colony and forms part of the Straits Settlements.

15. Mauritius:—Mauritius was first discovered by the Portuguese and named by the Dutch who established a small colony in 1644. In 1715 the French took possession of the island and called it the Isle of France. It began to flourish under the French and became the seat of their Government in the East. It was used as a naval base of attack on British trade and commerce. In 1810 it was captured by Britain and retained by the Treaty of 1815. It is a Crown Colony with a Governor and Executive and Legislative Councils. A small garrison of British troops is placed in the island. It is also a cable station. A number of small islands are dependencies of Mauritius, the chief of which are Rodrigues, and Diego Garcia of the Chagos Archipelago. The latter holds a

strategic position being on the direct line of Communication from Aden to Australia and Mauritius to Ceylon.

16. Seychelles:—The Seychelles Islands, numbering ninety, were occupied by the French in 1742 and captured by the British in 1794. They were created a separate Crown Colony in 1903 by letters patent. The Governor is advised by an Executive and a Legislative Council.

17. The British in China:—The island of Hongkong has the honour of being the first European colony in China. It was formally added to Britain by treaty in 1841 as a portion of her spoils in the war of 1840. The Peking Convention of 1860 which, ceded Kowloon, gave Great Britain a foot-hold in the continent. Subsequently the New Territories being close to the Kwantung province were leased to Britain in 1898. Hongkong is administered as a Crown Colony by a Governor aided by an Executive and a Legislative Council.

18. Wei-ha-wei:—Wei-ha-wei in the Chinese province of Shantung was leased to Britain in 1898. It is administered by a Commissioner controlled by the Colonial Office. It is a picturesque and fine sanitorium.

CHAPTER II.

The Great War.

"I do not think that any feature of the situation will impress more deeply the future historian of the war than the solidarity with which the whole of the British Empire has identified its varied interests with those of the mother country." Sidney Lee.

Historical background of the war:—England's rival in the sixteenth century was Spain. In the seventeenth century the duel was between England and Holland. The French rivalry fills largely the pages of the eighteenth century. The nineteenth century was a period of internal development of the Empire. In the twentieth century Great Britain's mighty rival was Germany, whose ambition led to the Great War. A creation of Prince Bismarck, shaped by his policy of 'blood and iron,' Germany appeared as a united nation late in the seventies of the nineteenth century, and found the earth already apportioned and occupied. In the Continent she was 'cabined, confined and cribbed,' the door of expansion being blocked on all sides by France and Russia. The jealousy and distrust of France and Russia found expression in the alliance between Germany and Austria in 1879. Three years later Italy threw in her lot with the Central Powers. In 1884 Germany embarked upon her colonial policy which led to a gradual estrangement between Great

Britain and her new rival. But Bismarck's diplomacy alone kept France, Russia and England apart. Events moved quickly. The accession of Wilhelm II to the German throne in 1888 was marked by the fall of the great Chancellor and the rise of an active war party in Germany. Russia and France began to draw together and formed in 1891 the '*Dual Entente*' as a counterpart to the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy. Meanwhile Germany began the construction of a large navy which left no doubt as to her intentions. The drilling of a large army and the building of the Baghdad railway revealed German ambition, and in order to keep pace with the greatest military power the continental nations had to arm themselves to the teeth. When the commercial, naval and colonial ambitions of Germany thus became manifest, Great Britan drew closer to France and signed the '*Entente Cordiale* in 1904, thanks to the efforts of Edward the Peacemaker. Three years later the Anglo-Russian Convention brought the *Triple Entente* into existence.

A study of the European situation therefore brings out the fact that the Continental Powers have a vital interest in anything that would tend to disturb the balance of power. The Pan-Slavonic movement under the great Slav country in the Balkans, aiming at the dismemberment of the Austrian Empire, could not fail to rouse the suspicion of Austria. On the other hand, the national sentiment of the non-Germanic races had been of late rudely trampled upon and the Dual Monarchy of Austria and Hungary, for all practical pur-

poses, was a compact between the Magyar and the German to keep the Slav under subjection. It was to the advantage of Russia, the protector of the Slavs, to create and support another Slav power at the back of Austria. Germany was pledged to support Austria against Russia, for German and Austrian interests were identical. Serbia cast envious eyes on Austria's recent acquisitions of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Franco-German War, which deprived France of Alsace and Lorraine, was too fresh in her memory and she was bound by treaty to help Russia. England's interests were bound up with those of France and Russia, by whom she was pledged to stand. The antagonism between France and Germany, the mutual distrust of Germany and England, the conflictting interests of Austria and Russia and the natural rivalry between the Teuton and the Slav are the central facts about the international situation previous to the war.

The Serajevo Tragedy:—The Serajevo incident was the immediate cause of the war. In June 1914, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir apparent to the Austrian throne was shot dead, while driving through the streets of Serajevo, the Bosnian capital. Austria accused Serbia of abetting the crime and demanded her unconditional submission. Serbia yielded on almost all the points, but Austria was not satisfied and declared war. It became evident that with German aid, she was seeking to make capital out of the Serajevo murder. Serbia now appealed to Russia who began to mobilise. Germany ordered Russia to disband her army

and on the latter's refusal, both Germany and Austria declared war. France could not look on while her eastern ally was being crushed and threw in her lot with Russia. Thus Europe and the world were plunged into the throes of a great war.

Why England entered the War:—It was at first believed in England, that the Central Powers were trying to effect their purpose by a mere display of arms. But she was soon disillusioned. Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Secretary, proposed to refer the Austro-Serbian problem to an inter-national council at Hague. But the Central Powers had only cold contempt for his proposal. Germany persuaded herself that Great Britain, threatened with a civil war in Ireland, would avoid a European entanglement. But the Germans soon realised their mistake, when they demanded a passage for their troops through Belgium, to easily hit France in a vulnerable point. The neutrality of Belgium had been guaranteed by all the powers. When Great Britain wanted Germany to respect the integrity of Belgium, she was told that treaties were but 'scraps of paper.' Germany was unscrupulous in the methods she adopted to gain her ends. Great Britain stood forth as the saviour of oppressed nationalities and declared war on August 4, 1914, to uphold treaty obligations. Her own self-interest dictated the same course. She was bound to fight by the side of France and Russia.

Theatres of War: Belgium:—Germany poured her army into Belgium. The heroic stand of that little

country saved France. It gave the English and the French time to put themselves in readiness for defence. But in the initial stages of the war everything went almost as the Germans had expected. Liege was captured. Namur fell. Antwerp and Brussels were occupied. With the fall of Antwerp, the conquest of Belgium was complete. Ghent, Bruges and Ostend were occupied and the Government left Antwerp by sea for Havre. Meanwhile, the British Expeditionary Force which had landed in France and pushed into Belgium was defeated at Mons. Then began the famous retreat from Mons to the Marne.

France:—The Germans made a sweep into the heart of France. Lille, Arras, Amiens, La Fere and Laon were one after another occupied and the Allies fell back upon a position behind the Marne. The very capital of France was threatened and the French Government left Paris for Bordeaux. It was now the turn of the Germans to retreat. Defeated at the battle of the Marne, they beat back and took up a strong position on the river Aisne. The battle of the Aisne followed and after an unsuccessful attempt to dislodge the Germans from their strong position, the British and the French entrenched themselves close to their enemies. Now the British General Sir John French forestalled the Germans and extended the line to Nieuport, thus frustrating the enemy's design on Calais. The next objective of the Germans was Calais. They attacked desperately, but the British stoutly resisted. It was the German plan to make numbers tell. Just at this critical time of the war, the Indian troops

landed and held the line, fighting for the first time a European foe on European soil. The campaign on the side of the the Allies was defensive. The first battle of Ypres was a decisive victory for them, the German attempt to break the line being unsuccessful. From October 20, to November 17, was the critical period of the war. For the fate of France hung in the result of the battle. The line broken, the Germans would have found an easy road to Paris, and the Channel ports in German hands, the British Army would have been cut off from supplies and reinforcements.

There was very little substantial change from the position taken up by the rival armies in November 1914 until May 1918. The battle line extended from Nieuport on the North Sea to Switzerland. The Germans renewed their attempt to gain Calais. The second battle of Ypres fought between April 22, 1915 and May 17, was no victory for them. The Canadians acquitted themselves well in this battle. In February 1916, came the first battle of Verdun, which lasted nearly eighty days. Germany repeated thetactics of Ypres. But the battle of Verdun was a huge sacriface for her without its fruits. On May 3, the Germans began their second thrust on Verdun and pushed forward within four miles of the walls of the city. Soon, however, the French regained the lost ground at immense sacrifice of life.

Meanwhile the British army was so far strengthened as to take the offensive. The first battle of the Somme began in July 1916 and lasted five months. It was a

fierce struggle, which cost several lives on both sides, but the victory rested with the Allies. The offensive was resumed early in 1917 and the Germans were pushed back step by step. The battle of Arras followed in April and the Germans were pressed back to Cambrai. In October there came a set back for the Allies. The Italian line was broken by the Austro-Germans, but with the aid of British and French troops, the Italians put an effective check on the Austro-German advance. The year 1917 was also marked by America declaring war on Germany, owing to the latter's flagrant violation of international law in sinking neutral merchant vessels. Thus what at first was only a European war developed into such huge proportions as to include, not only the British Empire but also distant America and Japan, whose entrance decided the protracted struggle.

Russia :—The scene now changes to Russia and the Eastern Front. The Russians began well. They invaded East Prussia, captured Tilsit, Allenstein, and Konigsberg. Their success, however, was short-lived. Von Hindenburg, the German General, inflicted a crushing defeat on them at Tannenburg in August 1914. The Russian army was surrounded and between eighty and ninety thousand were taken prisoners. This was a windfall for Germany. The Russians were driven back and their country was overrun by Von Hindenburg.

The Russian reverses in the north were more than counter-balanced by their successes over Austria. The Austrians were routed, and East Galicia was occupied.

Their attempt to overrun Serbia failed miserably; and Hungary was invaded by the Russian forces. But the Germans rescued the Austrians and won back every inch of lost ground. The Austro-Germans advanced into Russia. Warsaw fell and Riga was threatened. In 1916, the Russians gained some advantage at the expense of the Austrians, only to retreat soon before Von Hindenburg. Roumania's belated entrance into the war on the side of the Allies made no change for Russia. The action of Roumania, however, drove Bulgaria and Turkey into the arms of Germany.

Serbia and Bulgaria :— Serbia repelled the Austrian invasion in 1914. In the following year Von Mackensen overran Serbia. Bulgaria hit her in the back and the little Slav kingdom was in no condition to resist. Belgrade fell and Serbia lay at the mercy of Mackensen, who invaded Wallachia and dictated peace to Roumania. The latter had counted on the support of Russia, who was on the eve of a revolution. Russia, thrown into a state of anarchy by the Bolsheviks, gradually receded from the war. The Greek king temporised and the British Army landed in Salonica too late to save Serbia.

Italy :— Italy took up arms against Austria-Hungary on May 23, 1915, with the object of rounding off her territories by the conquest of 'unredeemed Italy.' The coming in of Italy relieved the Austrian pressure on Russia. Trent and Trieste were promptly occupied. The Austro-German invasion of Italy came in the autumn of 1917. The Italians lost what they had gained and the

Germans swept down the Venetian plain. The arrival of British and French forces, however, saved Italy.

Turkey,—The intervention of Turkey in 1914 changed the phase of the war. The war zone now extended to Egypt, Mesopotamia, Gallipoli, Palestine and the Caucasus. The Turks attacked the Suez Canal. The Khedive of Egypt, who sympathised with the Turkish cause, was deposed and Egypt was proclaimed a protectorate. Basra was occupied by an expeditionary force from India. But the attempt to capture Baghdad was not attended with success. The same fate pursued the attack on the Dardenelles. Gallipoli was the scene of heroism. But Britain's loss was Russia's gain. While the Turks were being engaged in Gallipoli, the Russians stole a march over their enemies in the Caucasus. But the Turkish victory was shortlived. On March 11, 1917 Baghdad was occupied by General Maude. Palestine was taken in December by General Abercombey, who completed the conquest of Syria. Meanwhile, the surrender of Bulgaria isolated Turkey. She could hold on no longer, and on November 1, the hostilities ceased.

Western Theatre:—In 1918 the Germans made a mighty effort and the British line between the Sensee and Saint Quintin was broken through and the German line pushed up to within a few miles of Amiens. They were again successful in driving a wedge through the British line between Flanders and Artois. The French were pressed back to the Oise. Another drive brought the German line from the Aisne to the Marne.

The Allies learnt their weakness in divided command, which stood in the way of concentrated action, and through the pressure of Lloyd George, who had become British Prime Minister, the Command was entrusted to Marshal Foch. The tide of battle now turned against the Germans. Amiens was saved. Foch pursued a waiting policy and began his offensive. The Germans had overtired themselves in their last offensive and had not resources enough to meet the new situation. The second battle of the Marne drove back the Germans to the Aisne. The French moved up to the Oise and the British line between the Somme and Ypres was pushed forward.

Eastern Theatre:—Austria was defeated on all sides. Serbia and Montenegro were won by the Allies. Albania was overrun. The Italians pushed beyond the Piave. At this stage, Slavonic Austria rose in revolt and on November 3, Austria submitted and signed an armistice.

Western Theatre:—The surrender of Austria, Turkey and Bulgaria had its direct effect on the situation in France and Flanders. The end was not far off. Northern France and Flanders were soon reconquered. Belgium retook Ostend and advanced to within a short distance of Bruges. Lille and Douai fell. The surrender of Austria made further prolonged resistance impossible and on November 11, 1918, Germany accepted the Armistice. The Treaty of Versailles (June 1919) deprived Germany of all her oversea possessions and

made other territorial adjustments in Europe.

The British Navy in the War:—It was the British naval supremacy that brought victory to the Allied arms. To begin with, the German navy was temporarily successful. The English coast was raided and a squadron was defeated off Chile. The mighty German Fleet was bottled up in the Baltic and the British Fleet soon recovered its supremacy. The battle of Jutland in 1916 closed the chapter of naval warfare. The conquest of the German colonies was facilitated by British naval supremacy. Japan conquered the German posssessions in China. Australia and New Zealand seized the Pacific islands. British and African soldiers expelled them from Africa. The German attempt to foment rebellion within the Empire was a lamentable failure; and if the war has any lesson to teach, it is the solidarity of the British Empire.

The League of Nations:—The League of Nations, an inter-State political organisation, very largely the work of Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, (from 1913-21) is a child of the war of 1914-18. The object of the League is to promote international co-operation, enforce the strict observance of international laws and obligations and pave the way for a permanent universal peace. The League guarantees the autonomy of the weak, small States and requires disputes between States to be referred to an international court of arbitration. The signatories to the Peace of Versailles (June 1919) are the original members of the League. The first Assembly of the League met at Geneva in 1920

In 1922 the League had a membership of fifty one States. The ideal of ruling out all future wars and establishing a world peace may be Utopian, but the League carries us a step forward to the goal of the Federation of the World and the Parliament of Man, if such ideals are within the realm of practical politics.

The Imperial Conference:—The Great War is an object lesson in imperial patriotism and in the loyalty of the oversea dominions to Great Britain. The unity and solidarity of the Empire are largely promoted by the Imperial Conferences held at intervals of five years. It was the presence in London in 1887 of all the premiers of the self-governing Dominions at the Golden Jubilee celebrations of Queen Victoria that suggested the idea of a Colonial Conference. The first Conference was held in 1897. The Conference of 1902 prepared the ground for periodical gatherings. In 1907 the title was changed from Colonial to Imperial Conference and India was represented for the first time. The change of title brought with it other changes. The earlier Conferences were presided over by the Colonial Secretary, who now gave place to the Prime Minister. Such gatherings were held in 1911, 1917, 1918 and 1921. In 1917 and 1918, the Conference was called the Imperial War Conference. The Prime Minister is the Chairman, the self-governing Dominions and India are the members. The decision of the Conference is not binding, but discussion and exchange of views must indeed secure the goodwill of the Dominions.

Imperial Federation:—The success of the Imperial Conference encourages the idea of Imperial Federation. Politicians are not wanting who suggest some form of Imperial Federation to draw closer the bond between the mother country and the Colonies. The future organisation of the Empire, instead of being a result of arduous feats of legislation, must be left to time and be shaped by reasonable understandings and healthy conventions. A federal organisation of the Empire is fraught with danger both to England and the Colonies. Even where differences in religion, race and history do not exist, it has been found next to impossible, to reconcile the sentiment of State patriotism with the creation of a strong central government. "If any one considers the infinite diversity of the countries which make up the British Empire, if he reflects that they are occupied by different races, whose customs and whose civilization are the product of absolutely different histories, that the different countries of the Empire are in no case contiguous and in many instances are separated from England and from each other by seas extending over thousands of miles, he will rather wonder at the boldness of the dreams entertained by the votaries of Federal Imperialism than believe that the hopes of federalising the Empire are likely to meet with fulfilment."

APPENDIX. A.

Ireland Since the Union.

The Irish Union of 1801, which amalgamated the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland, was never popular. An Irish party strongly in favour of separation soon grew up in Westminster. The name of Daniel O'Connell and Parnell is familiar to students of Irish agitation for independence. After repeated failures to pass a Bill through both the Houses of Parliament, a Home Rule Bill was placed on the Statute Book in 1914, with a proviso staying its operation during the war. In the later stages of that conflict an extreme section of the Irish party named Sinn Fein began agitation for complete independence. The Irish problem was made intricate by the strong feeling in Ulster against severing British connection. The Government of Ireland Act of 1920 which superseded the Act of 1914 divided Ireland into two—Northern Ireland and Southern Ireland.

To Sinn Feiners, the Act was disappointing and after protracted negotiations between Sinn Fein representatives and the British Cabinet, a treaty was signed on December 6, 1921, which was ratified by Dail Eireann on January 7, 1922, and the Irish Free State came into being. Under the constitution, the Free State has an equal status among the nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations. The constitution provides for a Legislature of two

Houses—Dail Eireann and Seanad Eireann, of which the former is elected by a direct vote of all the citizens above thirty years. The members are required to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown. The British Parliament exercises the exclusive right to raise and maintain such armed forces as are specified in the Treaty, with a saving clause that, except in the case of a national invasion, the assent of the Irish Legislature is required for participation in any war. The executive authority is vested in the King to be exercised by his representative, the Governor-General, who is responsible to the Legislature. The constitution also creates a separate Judiciary. The question of boundary has been finally settled on December 4, 1925, and in the words of President Cosgrave the seeds of lasting peace have been sown.

Northern Ireland :—The Act of 1920 provides for a separate Legislature, Executive and Judiciary for Northern Ireland, comprising the province of Ulster, and the boroughs of Belfast and Derry. The seat of Government is Belfast. The executive power is exercised by ministers acting for the Crown and responsible to the Legislature. The Senate consists of twenty-six members of whom twenty four are elected by the members of the House of Commons of Northern Ireland. The Lord Mayors of Belfast and Derry are ex-officio members. The House of Commons consists of fifty two elected members. Northern Ireland sends thirteen members to the Parliament of the United Kingdom. A High Court of Judicature and a Court of Appeal have also been established.

APPENDIX B.

Influence of Sea Power on the Growth of the British Empire.

"In these three things—production with the necessity of exchanging products, shipping, whereby the exchange is carried on, and colonies, which facilitate and enlarge the operations of shipping and tend to protect it by multiplying points of safety—is to be founded the key to much of the history, as well as of the policy of nations bordering upon the sea." Mahan.

Geographical position, the extent of coast-line, the number of the population living in the sea or by the sea, the character of the people and the nature of the government, are the elements which go to form sea power. England satisfies all these conditions and consequently is supreme at sea. Asked what the finest romance the world has ever witnessed Prince Bismark is reported to have replied: "The English on the sea." The remark, appropriate as it is, brings out forcibly wherein lies the strength and greatness of England.

The sea is the link of the Empire. Without command of the sea, England could never have built such a vast empire, and without control of the sea and its highways, the Empire would cease to exist. The geographical fact that England is an island and can communicate with the

outside world only through the sea obliged her early in her history to divert her attention to the development of her Navy. No king since Alfred did so much for the Navy as Henry VII. Under Henry VIII the English Navy was the strongest afloat. Under Elizabeth the superiority of English Navy achieved the defeat of the the Armada.

In the seventeenth century Holland challenged England and the long struggle between the two ended in the discomfiture of the Dutch. The foundations of the oversea empire in this century and in the century following were the work of British mariners and traders. In order to preserve and maintain communication with the scattered parts of the Empire, the possessions on the main sea-routes were captured or settled at various dates. The importance of these outlying possessions lay in their value as watering and victualing stations.

In the long struggle with France in the eighteenth century, it was the Navy that once again decided the issue. Many additional naval stations were gained during this period. The Seven Years' War was a triumph for naval power. The importance of British victory at the Nile lay in the fact that it cut off Napoleon from communication with France, on which depended the success of his campaigns in Egypt. The battle of Trafalgar is really the last act of the great drama. It was not so much a defeat for Admiral Villeneuve as it was for Napoleon.

In the twentieth century the introduction of steam

and iron completely revolutionised naval tactics. The oak has given place to steal and the sail to steam. The modern system of naval warfare is full of submarine attacks, Monitors, mines and torpedoes. What is more, the aeroplane and the zeppelin threaten to sweep away the navy. The English sailors however adapted themselves to new situations and began to display the same mastery of naval tactics which had characterised their fore-fathers. With Great Britain the command of the sea is a necessity, as was demonstrated by the Great War. If at any time during the war Great Britain had lost the command of the sea, the United Kingdom would have been starved to surrender; the transport of troops from shore to shore could not have been accomplished and Germany would have landed her soldiers in England. The naval actions off the Bight of Heligoland, off the Dogger Bank and Jutland decided the final issue of the war. If England had not been a naval power she would never have become an Imperial State. The Empire without naval supremacy is a contradiction in terms.

C. DEFINITIONS.

1. **Colony**:—"The term Colony, often loosely applied, is most commonly used to denote a settlement of the subjects of a sovereign State in lands beyond its boundaries, owning no allegiance to any foreign power, and retaining a greater or less degree of dependence on the mother country."

2 **Dominions**:—Dominions are colonies having representative institutions and enjoying responsible government.

3. **Crown Colony**:—"A Crown Colony is a colony in which the Crown has the entire control of legislation, while the administration is carried on by public officers under the control of the Home Government."

4. **Protectorates**:—"The Protectorates are countries which, as regards their foreign relations are under the exclusive control of the Crown.'

5. **Spheres of Influence**:—"A Sphere of Influence may be described as an area wherein other powers undertake not to attempt to acquire influence or territory by treaty or annexation."

6. **Mandatory Spheres**:—" Mandatory spheres are countries where the responsibility for securing good government and a reasonable development of natural resources is confided to an already established government by mandate from the League of Nations."

D. QUESTIONS.*

1. Estimate the importance of geographical conditions on the growth and expansion of the United Kingdom.
2. Trace the stages by which England became a nation.
3. Examine the statement that Tudor Despotism was a necessary preparation for England's external growth.
4. Bring out the bearing of the Reformation on English expansion.
5. Sketch the history of the Anglo-Spanish rivalry in the sixteenth century.
6. Give a brief account of the Sea Dogs and point out their place in the history of English expansion.
7. What were the discoveries made in the sixteenth century. Estimate their results.
8. Account for the backwardness of England at the opening of the sixteenth century.
9. The sixteenth century is called a Period of Preparation for England in empire-building. Explain.
10. What were the motives of English colonisation and contrast them with those of the Spaniards?

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*The list does not persume to be exhaustive.

11. The goal of English maritime enterprise in the sixteenth century was the discovery of the North West Passage. Assign reasons.

12. Account for the failure of colonial enterprise in the sixteenth century and success of the same in the seventeenth.

13. Describe the struggle between King and Parliament in the seventeenth century and bring out its bearing on the expansion of England.

14. When and under what circumstances were the English Colonies in America founded? Draw a sketch map and mark the Colonies.

15. The seventeenth century is an age of Trade and Colonisation by Peaceful Settlement. Comment.

16. Give a brief account of the rise and fall of the Portuguese power in India.

17. Write a short sketch of the activities of the English East India Company in the seventeenth century.

18. How far did Jahangir and Shah Jahan help to sow the seed of British power in India.

19. The Marathas owe their raise to the genius of one man. Bring out the truth of this statement.

20. Estimate Cromwell's contribution to English expansion.

21. Trace the history of the Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the seventeenth century.

22. Define mercantilism. What effect had the mercantile policy on the growth of Greater Britain?

23. Under what circumstances did the French establish colonies in America ?

24. How did the physical conditions of N. America aid or hinder the growth of settlement.

25. Describe the struggle between England and France for land and power in India?

26. Contrast the expansion of England in the seventeenth century with that of the eighteenth century.

27. The eighteenth century has been called a Period of Colonisation by Conquest. Substantiate.

28. Outline the growth of the Cabinet System of Government in England.

29. What wars did England wage in the eighteenth century? Explain their causes and estimate their results.

30. Clive has been called the military founder of the British Empire in India, while Warren Hastings has been known as the organiser of British administration in India Explain and illustrate.

31. "Before Wellesley there was the British Empire in India, but during his time there was the British Empire of India." Explain.

32. What are the contributions of Marquis of Hastings and Dalhousie to the growth of British dominion in India ?

33. In what respects did the Peace of Utrecht, Paris (1763) Versallies (1783) Amiens (1783), and Paris (1815) change the extent of English possessions ?

34. How and at the expense of what nations was the colonial Empire of Great Britain extended during the period from 1793 to 1815 ?

35. Show how the colonial policy of England was affected by the Elder Pitt.

36. Examine the causes for the American War of Independence and estimate its results.

37. Compare the Spanish rivalry in the sixteenth century with that of the Dutch in the seventeenth and of the French in the eighteenth century.

38. Contrast the colonial policy of England in the eighteenth with that of the nineteenth century.

38, What bearing had the geographical conditions on the growth and expansion of settlement in Canada?

40. Describe the Industrial Revolution and indicate its bearing on expansion

41. Trace the stages in the evolution of Responsible Government in Canada.

42. Define a federation. Outline a federal constitution and say how far it is a solution to the colonial problem.

43. What influence had physical geography on the growth of Australia?

44. Sketch the history of Australian colonization.

45. What were the stages in the growth of Government by Council to Responsible Government in Australia ?

46. How far did the geography of New Zealand influence its history?
47. Briefly sketch the history of New Zealand as a British colony.
48. What geographical facts have moulded the history of South Africa?
49. Bring out the influence of the Boers on the growth of South Africa.
50. Outline the history of the South African Union.
51. Examine the causes for the great Boer War.
52. Bring out the relation between European and Indian politics. How has it affected the growth of British dominion in India?
53. Explain the causes of the Afghan Wars and show how far British frontier policy was responsible for hostilities.
54. The nineteenth century is called a Period of Consolidation. Explain.
55. Describe the government of the British Empire.
56. Catalogue the British possessions indicating their method of acquisition and manner of government.
57. Describe the administration of India.
58. Define a Colony. Distinguish between Dominions and Dependencies, Protectorates and Spheres of Influence. Give examples for each.
59. Estimate the importance of sea power on the growth of the British Empire.

60. In what ways has Indian history been affected by geographical conditions?

61. Describe the Great War and estimate the services rendered by the Dominions and India to the Empire.

62. Trace the history of the Irish Free State.

63. Estimate the importance of the Suez Canal.

64. The British Empire is an empire of endless diversity. Examine the statement.

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